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RICHARD WISEMAN

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RICHARD WISEMAN

*SURGEON AND SERGEANT-SURGEON TO
CHARLES II.*

A Biographical Study

BY

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WITH PORTRAIT AND ILLUSTRATION.

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

I HAVE attempted in the following Memoir of Sergeant-Surgeon Richard Wiseman to bring together in their true sequence such incidents of his life and work as I have been able to discover among the available records of the time in which he lived, or to gather from allusions accidentally made regarding them in his professional writings. The facts which have hitherto been recorded concerning this eminent practitioner and author are very few and meagre. Such brief notices of his career as have appeared in biographical works contain errors of a remarkable kind, not only with regard to the particulars of his life and official services, but even as to the sovereigns in whose reigns it has been supposed that he lived and practised.

One difficulty that I have met with in tracing the history and acts of Wiseman is common to all attempts that are made to ascertain with precision the course of life and conduct of persons who were

holding prominent positions at the time of our great Civil War or during the rule of the Commonwealth. This is the frequent use of ciphers in correspondence, and the occasional employment of other modes of secret communication which were resorted to as measures of precaution, or for purposes of concealment, by members of the two great political parties of the time. Another, and a special difficulty in respect to the subject of this Memoir, has been the fact of the frequent occurrence of Wiseman as a family name at that period. There were three Baronets of the name of Wiseman in the days of the Stuarts, and the name of Wiseman is frequently met with among citizens of various occupations in London at that time. In the very same year that Surgeon Wiseman, for political reasons, was placed in custody in the Tower, and afterwards confined as a prisoner in Lambeth House, another Royalist of the same name, but in no way connected with him, was imprisoned in the Tower for taking part in a political conspiracy. The simple appellation of "Wiseman," or of "Mr. Wiseman," occurs in several documents, in which the question of the particular individual intended to be indicated now hardly admits of solution. These sources of doubt

and difficulty are further aggravated by the name of Wiseman having been sometimes used as a pseudonym, the pretended name referring to some one of a totally different designation.

I am under obligations to various gentlemen whose names, for the most part, will be found mentioned in the course of the Memoir, for friendly help in procuring some of the extracts from documents not readily accessible, which are contained in the following narrative. But I must particularly name here Mr. J. Dixon, F.R.C.S., from whose contribution towards a history of Wiseman I have extracted several paragraphs, and who has spared no pains in trying to help me to discover the facts of Wiseman's parentage; the Rev. W. Dunn Macray, M.A., Editor of the "Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers," preserved in the Bodleian Library, who has examined some particular MSS. for me; Mr. Bailey, Librarian of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, who procured the copy of Wiseman's will, which will be found in the Appendix, and who has very kindly assisted me in other researches; my friend Lieutenant-Colonel Billings, LL.D., of the U.S. Army Medical Staff, who supplied me with the information regarding Wiseman's

works in the Library at Washington; Mr. Sydney Young, the author of "The Annals of the Barber-Surgeons," who on several occasions has examined old records of the Barber-Surgeons' Company for me; Colonel C. Cornu, President of the Archæological Society of Jersey, who undertook the task—no light one, owing to the antiquated French in which it is written—of examining for me the MS. journal kept by M. Vingtennier Chevalier, a brief account of which will be found in the Appendix; and especially Miss Hemery of Jersey, to whom this interesting record belongs, and who kindly lent it at my request for inspection.

In order to afford, as far as possible, the opportunity to readers of testing the accuracy of the conclusions arrived at or statements made in the text, I have taken it as a rule either to give references to the authorities on which they are based in footnotes appended to the passages in which the statements occur, or to furnish complete citations of the documentary evidence or sources of information on which they are founded. These more full quotations of evidence will usually be found in the Appendix at the end of the Memoir.

This history of one of the greatest English sur-

geons of olden days, if not the greatest, is admittedly still very incomplete, but it has not been from want of efforts on my own part, or on the part of diligent fellow-searchers, that it is not more perfect. Notwithstanding very careful and prolonged investigations on the subject, no reliable evidence even of the parentage, or of the precise date of birth, of Richard Wiseman has been discovered. I believe, however, that a fairly accurate account of the chief events of his life is contained in the following Memoir, while various erroneous statements that have hitherto prevailed regarding his history will be found to be rectified; and I now send the Memoir forth in the hope that the deficiencies which exist in it may hereafter be supplied by some more successful inquirers.

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RICHARD WISEMAN,

SURGEON AND SERGEANT-SURGEON TO CHARLES
THE SECOND.

Errata.

Introductory Remarks, p. viii, line 1, *for* "Sydney" *read* "Sidney."
In footnote, page 22, line 2, *for* "MacAllister" *read* "MacAlister."
Page 34, line 26, *for* "Reuter Warden" *read* "Renter Warden."
" 107, " 11, *for* "1678" *read* "1686."
" 201, " 2, *for* "page 156" *read* "page 134."

of the time in which he lived, largely illustrated by examples derived from his personal experience, Richard Wiseman must always hold a very notable place in the history of British surgery. The purpose of the remarks which follow is to try to form a clearer and more connected outline of the career and labours of this eminent surgeon than at present exists. All who have had occasion to inquire into the subject know how remarkably little of Wiseman's personal history and services has hitherto been placed on record, and what a mist of uncertainty has obscured the few particulars which have been written regarding him. That Wiseman's personal history should have been such a comparative

blank, as it has hitherto been, is the more remarkable when the singular activity of his life and the stirring circumstances of the time in which he lived are remembered. Few surgeons have had experiences of so varied a nature as he had—at one time a surgeon in the service of Holland, and occupied in naval engagements at sea in the Dutch navy; at another time employed as an army surgeon on shore, in the midst of a civil war accompanied by great bloodshed and widespread suffering; for several years an exile and wanderer in foreign countries; again engaged as a naval surgeon, but now in the Spanish service; and subsequently, for some years before his death, not only maintaining the highest position in the civil practice of his profession in the metropolis, but also occupying a distinguished place at Court. With such an eventful life, it seems strange that only the scantiest traces of it should have descended to us.

When I commenced this memoir, all that I had succeeded in discovering regarding Wiseman was the brief notice of his life and writings published by Dr. John Aikin in his “General Biographical Dictionary” at the beginning of the present century. This notice appeared to embrace all the facts that were known regarding him at that date in England. No more particulars than those reported by Dr. Aikin had been given in the various notices of Wiseman that had appeared in native or foreign biographical works since the publication of Dr. Aikin’s Dictionary. In the year 1886, Dr. B. Ward Richardson, in

the third volume of the "Asclepiad," published an essay on "Richard Wiseman and the Surgery of the Commonwealth." In this essay a careful and ably-written digest of Wiseman's description of certain injuries and diseases, with their treatment, is given, and some of the anecdotes related by Wiseman in the course of his treatises are brought to notice, but no particulars of Wiseman's personal history beyond those mentioned by Dr. Aikin are related in it. The essay is, however, very interesting, and is rendered the more so from being accompanied by an excellent autotype copy of the portrait of Wiseman which is in the possession of the Royal College of Surgeons of England.

It was only after a large amount of labour and time had been expended in the search after various particulars—some of which were found among the records preserved in the Public Record Office—and after Wiseman's will, and several papers connected with it, had been brought to light from among the testamentary documents deposited in the Probate Division of the High Court of Justice at Somerset House, through the kind assistance of Mr. Bailey, the Librarian to the Royal College of Surgeons of England, that I became aware of the fact that several of the most interesting points of information which I had obtained by these means had already been made known, in a weekly journal now extinct, by Mr. James Dixon, F.R.C.S. The facts alluded to were mentioned in an article entitled "Contributions towards a Memoir of Richard Wise-

man," in the *Medical Times and Gazette* of October 19, 1872. It is very curious that no one among my numerous correspondents on the subject remembered Mr. Dixon's contribution towards the personal history of Richard Wiseman, nor the important fact mentioned in it, which I had been particularly in quest of, the date of Wiseman's death. Neither could the erroneous statements regarding particular details of Wiseman's history have appeared in some important works of late years had the writers been acquainted with the facts brought to notice in the article referred to. Had I myself known of the publication of Mr. Dixon's "fragmentary sketch," as he modestly calls it, before I commenced this memoir, I should most probably not have undertaken the work; but as my researches have led to the elucidation of various matters which are not contained in Mr. Dixon's biographical notice, it has appeared to me, and also to some professional friends whom I have consulted on the subject, that this memoir may still prove of sufficient interest to repay its publication.

Neither the place nor date of Wiseman's birth has been mentioned in any of the biographical notices of him, nor have they yet been accurately ascertained. He was probably born in London, for had he been born elsewhere, with the numerous allusions to other parts of the kingdom in his writings, there would doubtless have been some reference to his birthplace among them. He had certainly, in his latter days, an apprentice who was a kinsman and

Londoner, and who was the son of a London citizen. There has been an attempt to connect him with a baronet of the name of Sir Richard Wiseman who lived at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It has been recorded that this gentleman was passing near Westminster Abbey in December 1641, at the time of a popular riot, and that some men on the roof of the Abbey were flinging stones against the mob, when Sir Richard was accidentally struck by one of these missiles, and so much injured that he died from its effects. The coincidence of the Christian as well as the surname being the same as those of Richard Wiseman the surgeon, in the absence of certain information on the subject of the surgeon's parentage, is certainly striking, and naturally leads to the question whether the two individuals may not have been related to one another. But it is known that this Sir Richard Wiseman died without a male heir, for the title became extinct at his death. In consequence of the difficulty I experienced in tracing out Wiseman's early family history, and of the suppression of his father's name in certain documents in which the name of the father is usually mentioned, it occurred to me as a surmise that he might have been an illegitimate son of Sir Richard; and I find from Mr. Dixon's contribution to his biography that a similar idea had been raised in the mind of that gentleman. It is true that Sir Robert Wiseman, who belonged to the same Essex family as Sir Richard Wiseman, formally acknowledged Richard Wiseman the surgeon as one of his kin-

dred, but the illegitimacy of his birth would hardly militate against an acknowledgment of this kind. The feelings with which illegitimacy was regarded in the early periods of English history differed greatly from those which prevail in our own days; the condition seems to have attracted less concern, and less aversion to it seems to have been entertained by society in general. Mr. Dixon's friend, Colonel Chester, from whom he states he derived the chief part of his information concerning Wiseman, and whom he describes as a gentleman particularly versed in historical and genealogical researches, had evidently investigated the circumstances of Wiseman's early family history with very great diligence and care. The following documents, brought to light by these inquiries, are of much interest, and only became known to me through Mr. Dixon's contribution on the subject. I quote them, together with the foot-notes attached to them, in Mr. Dixon's own words:—

“He (Wiseman) was anxious to get himself acknowledged as being connected by blood with a family of the same name in which there was more than one baronetcy; and in 1671 he applied to Sir Robert Wiseman, Kt., to have this connexion recognised. Sir Robert accordingly drew up a reply, which is preserved among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum.”¹ He says:

“Whereas my worthy friend and kinsman, Richard Wiseman, Esq., one of His Majesty's Chirurgeons-

¹ Lansdowne MSS., 255 (Brit. Mus.), fo. 66.

in-Ordinary, hath expressed unto me [a wish?] to have my declaration of his alliance and kindred unto myself and family, I do therefore declare that I acknowledge the said Richard Wiseman to be my kinsman and descendant of my family, and that I do give free liberty to him, the said Richard Wiseman, to use and bear the coat of arms and crest of my family, and in such manner and with such distinction as my worthy friend Sir Edward Walter, Kt. Garter Principal King-at-Arms, shall confirm and assign to him. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal the 3rd day of April, 1671.—ROBERT WISEMAN.”¹

“The Sergeant-Surgeon’s name, however, does not appear in any of the Wiseman pedigrees, and when, after the above authorisation from Sir Robert Wiseman, Kt., he obtained an allowance of arms, he still recorded no pedigree. It is clear, therefore, that he was not an immediate connection of Sir Robert’s, nor of any of the Wiseman baronets of that period.”² At the College of Arms they do not regard Sir Robert’s recognition of Richard “as his kinsman and descendant of his family” as any legal proof of relationship. Circumstances, I think, seem to make it probable that he was illegitimate.”³

¹ Sir Robert Wiseman was Advocate to Charles II., and afterwards became Vicar-General and Dean of the Arches. He died on August 17, 1684, in his 74th year of age. (*Notes and Queries*, November 25, 1854.)

² The three baronets of the name of Wiseman all belonged to branches of an old family which records show existed in the county of Essex from the time of Edward IV.

³ “There were three baronetcies granted to Wisemans. The first was

There occur expressions in certain letters, portions of which will be found in the Appendix, which raise doubts as to whether Wiseman was not a nephew of Mr. William Edgeman, who was secretary to Sir Edward Hyde when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer under Charles II., and who continued to be his secretary after he became Lord High Chancellor and Earl of Clarendon. One of these letters is given at full length. (See App. No. III. 2.) It occurs in the Calendar of Clarendon Papers,¹ is dated Rouen, October 6, 1648, and is addressed "ffor my very worthy freind William Edgman, Esq., At St. Loe." It is endorsed "Mr. Wiseman, Oct. 6, 1648 (immaterial)." To judge from the expressions of the letter in their literal sense, it seems that the writer, whose name is not mentioned,² had just received a

conferred in 1628 on Sir William Wiseman of Canfield Hall, Essex. This baronetcy still exists. The second was conferred, the same year, on Richard Wiseman of Thundersley Hall, Essex. He died without a male heir, and the title then became extinct. May not our Richard, surgeon, have been the illegitimate son of this Richard? The third baronetcy was conferred in 1660 on William Wiseman of Rivenhall, Essex, eldest son and heir of Sir Thomas Wiseman, Kt. He left no male issue, and so the title expired with him in 1692. It was his younger brother Robert (knighted in 1661), seventh son of Sir Thomas, on whom the Sergeant-Surgeon made the claim of kinship above noticed." Canfield Hall, also known as Canfield Park, is stated to have been purchased by the Wiseman family in the time of Edward VI.

¹ Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers preserved in the Bodleian Library. Edited by the Rev. W. Dunn Macray, M.A., Oxford. Clar. Press, 1872, vol. i. p. 441.

² Mr. Macray, who has kindly referred to the MS. in the Bodleian Library, has written to me that the writer of the letter from Rouen may possibly have been Richard Watson, who had been chaplain to Lord Hopton, and was an intimate friend and correspondent of Edgeman's. He adds that the handwriting of the whole letter closely resembles that of Mr. Watson. Supposing the whole letter to have been written by Mr. Richard Watson, it might have been that he was for-

letter from Mr. Edgeman, dated October 2, and in it had found a letter signed R. W., beginning and ending "My dear Uncle," which he had felt bound to return to him. This letter is preserved and endorsed as described, but whether the Mr. Wiseman whose name was written upon the back of it referred to Wiseman the surgeon, or whether there was any hidden meaning in the term "uncle," there are no means of determining with certainty.

Mr. Trethewy, in writing from Rouen to Mr. Edgeman at St. Lo in November 1647, remarks: "M. Clotterbooke, yo^r nephew W., and my brother L. presente their service to you. . . ." This does not manifestly connect Wiseman the surgeon with the allusion to Edgeman's "nephew W." At the same time Wiseman the surgeon was certainly in France at this date, and was very probably, like others of the Royalist attendants, staying at Rouen.

Again, two years subsequently, Mr. Trethewy, in writing to Mr. Edgeman, who was then with Sir Edward Hyde in Spain, from Jersey, in November 1649, informs him: "Your nephew, my brother, &c., are still your humble servants." (See App. No. III. 5.) There is nothing here again to show precisely that Wiseman the surgeon is alluded to, but it is beyond doubt that he was at this date in Jersey in attendance on Charles II.

warding to Edgeman the copy of a letter from his nephew Wiseman to himself. This supposition, however, would not be consistent with the expressions made use of in two other letters which are quoted, both written by Mr. Trethewy, who distinctly alludes to Edgeman's "nephew W."

It will thus be seen that the quotations mentioned afford some ground for supposing a relationship to have existed between Richard Wiseman and the Chancellor's secretary, and presuming this supposition to be well grounded, the circumstance may have had an important bearing on Wiseman's connection with the Court and person of the King. Unfortunately, although there are frequent allusions to Mr. Edgeman in his official capacity in the correspondence of the period, I have not been able to discover any trace of a record of his personal history or family relations.

A writer in *Notes and Queries*,¹ in remarking on the question of the family relations of Sergeant-Surgeon Richard Wiseman, mentions that Thomas Wiseman, Remembrancer of the City of London from 1633 to 1642,² was the third son of Richard Wiseman, goldsmith and merchant of London, by Mary, daughter of Robert Brown, gent., leading to an inference that Richard Wiseman, the Sergeant-Surgeon, may have been a member of this family. He does not adduce any evidence to establish this to be a fact, though he mentions that the matter might probably be cleared up by an inspection of the Visitations of London and Essex or the Pedigrees of the latter county. These have, however, been examined without any such result; nothing of a nature to establish a connection between the Re-

¹ See *Notes and Queries*, 7th Ser., xi., April 18, 1891, p. 315.

² Appointed 1633; discharged from the office, it being held to be no longer necessary, in 1642.

membrancer and Sergeant Wiseman has been discovered in them.

After full consideration of the point, it seems to me that the evidence which is available indicates that Wiseman was probably a scion of some citizen family of London, perhaps of one in a comparatively modest position of life. He repeatedly mentions his apprentice, Jacques Wiseman, as being a kinsman, and it is certain that Jacques' father, Mr. Samuel Wiseman, was a citizen of London, and apothecary.¹ (See App. No. XI.) He nowhere in his writings alludes to other relatives of his own name. The inference may fairly be drawn that Wiseman's own family was one in a position of life corresponding with that of the family of his kinsman Jacques. The name of Wiseman was one of common occurrence in the seventeenth century. In Luttrell's "Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs," and in various diaries and other works referring to the period, the name is often met with, though in no way that can be traced to have connection with the subject of this memoir. After all, though it would certainly have been interesting to have discovered Wiseman's parentage with precision, the discovery would have had but little influence over the facts

¹ The indefatigable but unfortunate writer, William Prynne, who was Keeper of the Records in the Tower after the Restoration, and who died in October 1669, left the following legacy in his will to one of his clerks named Samuel Wiseman: "Item, I give to my clerke, Samuell Wiseman, the somme of three pounds, and one of my silk cloakes and last printed bookes." This was probably the eldest son of Samuel Wiseman the apothecary, and therefore a brother of Jacques Wiseman. (See the will of William Prynne, copied in the Camden Society's Publications, Wills from Doctors Commons, &c., 1495-1695.)

on which the main attractions of Wiseman's life and history rest. Had he been an undoubted member of the family of one of the baronets of his name, with whom he sought to establish consanguinity, the relationship would have added nothing to the true dignity of Wiseman. On the contrary, Wiseman's high reputation and eminent services to his profession, and through his profession to the State, would have conferred additional lustre on the family claiming him as a son, to whatever cause the family might have owed its distinctive social position. Wiseman owes his fame, and the interest now taken in him and his works, to himself alone.

Although the date of Wiseman's birth cannot be stated with any more precision than his parentage, we can arrive at a fairly safe conclusion regarding it within a space of two or three years. A reference by him in his earliest publication would at first make it appear that he was born as far back as the year 1616. In the prefatory letter to his book published in 1672 he writes: "Having spent betwixt thirty and forty years in a plentiful exercise of my profession, and that in different countries and places," &c. This statement apparently shows that he had been then engaged in professional practice about thirty-five years, and supposing him to have been twenty-one years of age when he commenced his career as a surgeon—and he could not practise surgery before he had attained that age¹—it would

¹ Mr. Sidney Young has informed me that no limit of age for commencing to practise as a surgeon was laid down by any of the bye-laws

carry the date of his birth back to the year above named. It is, however, evident that when Wiseman referred to his having spent between thirty and forty years in practice, he must have included in this retrospect the period of his apprenticeship. The fact is certain, as shown by a record in the books of the Barber-Surgeons' Company, that the date of Wiseman's apprenticeship was between the end of August 1636 and the month of August 1637,¹ probably about the month of January 1637. The fee to the Company for his being bound as an apprentice was paid at some time during this interval. The ordinary age for being apprenticed at that period was fourteen or fifteen years, and the term of the apprenticeship was for seven years. Thus, presuming Wiseman to have been a lad of the age mentioned when he entered upon his apprenticeship, he must have been born between the years 1621 and 1623, and this is probably as near the truth as can be arrived at from the data which have been so far discovered.

of the Barber-Surgeons' Company excepting this, that no surgeon could practise *before he was free*, and that no one could get his freedom before he was twenty-one years of age.

¹ Mr. Sidney Young, after a long search through the old records of the Barber-Surgeons' Company, discovered the date of Wiseman's apprenticeship as above stated. The accounts of the Wardens of the Company, which are entered up year by year, contain the receipt by them of the usual fees (at that time 2s. 6d.) paid by the masters on the presentation of their apprentices before the Court for binding, and in the accounts for the year 28th August 1636 to 17th August 1637 the following entry occurs:—

“Of Richard Smith, surgian, for Richard Wiseman, ijs vjd.”

The accounts for 1636–1637 extend over several pages. In that year seventy-two apprentices were presented. Wiseman was the thirty-third, so that it may be presumed it was about January 1637 he was presented.

But the want of precision with respect to the date of Wiseman's birth is a trifling matter when compared with the remarkable errors which have been published concerning the period of time during which he was in practice as a surgeon. These mistakes, moreover, occur in works in which it might well be anticipated more correct information would be found. It is not very strange that such errors should occur in foreign works, for Wiseman does not appear to have attracted close attention at any time among Continental surgeons. His surgical accomplishments hardly appear to have been known to them, or the value of his published writings, so trifling are the references to them in foreign books of the period. None of his treatises, so far as I have been able to discover, were translated into any foreign language. Haeser, in his well-known work on the History of Medicine, in the section on Surgery in the Seventeenth Century,¹ writes: "Among Englishmen there appeared no surgeon of the first rank in this century; but standing out prominently as surgeons are Richard Wiseman, the physician of James I., and the distinguished anatomist, William Cowper. Wiseman gained special credit in amputation by flaps, for his accurate description of joint diseases, his operation for hernia, &c."

The error as regards Wiseman having held the office of physician to James I. is sufficiently apparent to any one who has closely considered the subject,

¹ Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Medicin. Von Dr. Haeser, Professor zu Griefswald. Jena, 1853, p. 640.

but, strangely enough, the error is repeated in the "History of Surgery" in the last edition, the ninth, of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.¹ As the preface to the first folio edition of Wiseman's works is dated May 24, 1676, it is sufficiently obvious that although Wiseman might have been living in the first James' reign, he could not have been physician to that monarch. He must have been a mere boy when James I. died.

How imperfectly the treatises of Wiseman are known among our French colleagues may be judged from the remarks concerning him and his works in the recently-published *History of French Military Surgery*, and accompanying sketch of *Military Surgery in the other countries of Europe*, by Professor Delorme of Paris. With regard to the military surgeons of England in the seventeenth century,² Clowes, Woodall, and Wiseman are named, but are dismissed with the expression, "*De pareils auteurs comptent à peine,*"—such authors are of little account, or hardly merit consideration. Wiseman receives a brief notice, which concludes by describing him as a mere copyist of Magatus. The precise translation of the passage is as follows: "Wiseman, the surgeon of King James II., to whom some have applied the epithet of 'Paré of the English,' in his 'Several Chirurgical Treatises,' devoted two interest-

¹ "Wiseman took the Royalist side in the wars of the Commonwealth, and was surgeon to James I. and Charles I." *Encycl. Brit.*, 9th edit., 1887, vol. xxii. p. 676.

² *Traité de Chirurgie de Guerre*. Par E. Delorme, &c. &c. Paris, 1888, p. 74.

ing books to the study of ordinary wounds and wounds by firearms. He does nothing more than reproduce the ideas of Magatus." It seems strange that Wiseman, who, while practising his profession in accordance with the best knowledge of his day, and in many respects in advance of it, depended in such an unusual degree upon his own observations and experience, and who in his writings supported the treatment which he recommended by so many examples selected from his own practice,¹ should be set aside as a mere copyist of an Italian surgeon whose writings there is no evidence of his ever having perused. If only from motives of patriotism, and of respect for the memory of a surgeon who was so prominent in the practical application of surgery at one period of our great Civil War as well as afterwards in civil practice, and who did so much toward establishing the science and art of surgery on a solid basis in England, it becomes a duty to defend his memory from such a slight on his reputation. This has been indirectly done by Dr. Richardson in his remarks on the "Surgery of the Commonwealth," and it is believed that the present account of Wiseman's life and large professional experience will furnish increased support to Dr. Richardson's observations in the direction named.

It may be presumed that Professor Delorme, in

¹ The number of cases treated by Wiseman which he has described in illustration of the text of his treatises are as many as 634. They are thus distributed :—In his treatise on tumours, 215 ; on ulcers, 41 ; on hæmorrhoids, &c., 27 ; on king's evil, 137 ; on wounds in general, 58 ; on gunshot wounds, 39 ; on fractures, 19 ; and on lues venerea, 98.

describing Wiseman as surgeon to James II., inadvertently named that king by mistake for Charles II., to whom the treatises of Wiseman are dedicated in conspicuous type on the first page of each edition of his works. It is strange that Dr. Aikin in his biographical notice of Wiseman also refers, though with a certain amount of doubt, to his having held the post of Sergeant-Surgeon to King James II. Dr. Aikin writes:—

“After the Restoration Wiseman became very eminent in his profession, and was appointed Sergeant-Surgeon to the King, Charles II., and appears to have held the same office in the reign of James II.” But it is still more remarkable that in the article on the History of Surgery before mentioned, in the last (9th) edition of the “*Encyclopædia Britannica*,” it is stated without any reserve that Wiseman was Sergeant-Surgeon to James II. as well as to Charles II.¹ There are absolutely no grounds for the statement. James II. became king in 1685, and abdicated in 1688, while positive proof exists that Wiseman was not living after the year 1676. In fact, he had died nine years before James II. ascended the throne. That such erroneous state-

¹ “At the Restoration he became Sergeant-Surgeon to Charles II., and held the same office under James II.” (*Encycl. Brit.*, 9th edit., 1887, vol. xxii. p. 676). It is asserted in the same article, as before mentioned, that Wiseman was Surgeon to James I. and to Charles I. It is obvious that Wiseman’s life must have been remarkably prolonged for him to have held office under James I. and also under James II. He must have been born before the beginning of the century to have risen to the important post of Surgeon to King James I., and must have lived at least to the year 1685, when James II. succeeded to the throne on the death of his brother, Charles II.

ments should have been put forth is the more curious inasmuch as one of the editions of Wiseman's works, the edition of 1686, was published during the reign of James II., and this edition, like the third and fourth editions of 1696 and 1705, and the still later editions of 1719 and 1734, bears on the title-page, "By Richard Wiseman, Sergeant-Chirurgion to King Charles II.," but makes no mention of his holding the same office under James II. It would have been only reasonable to conclude, that if Wiseman had been Sergeant-Surgeon to James II., the fact would have appeared on the title-page of the edition published in that monarch's reign. It is difficult to form even a surmise respecting the source of the statement that Wiseman held the office of Sergeant-Surgeon to King James II. The folio edition of 1676 was undoubtedly brought out under Wiseman's direct personal supervision. The epistle to the reader at the beginning of the volume, signed "thy friend and servant, Richard Wiseman," is dated May 24, 1676, and in this edition, which is dedicated to King Charles II., the title-page has simply upon it, "Several Chirurgicall Treatises. By Richard Wiseman, Sergeant-Chirurgion," with the printer's and bookseller's names, and the date, 1676, of publication. In all the subsequent editions that I have been able to examine, just as might be expected after the decease of the author, there appears the fuller designation after his name of "Sergeant-Chirurgion to King Charles II." Observation of these facts had

led me to the conclusion, before I had obtained positive evidence on the subject, that Wiseman never could have been Sergeant-Surgeon to King James II., any more than he had been to King James I.

Haeser mentions only four editions of Wiseman's works, viz., Lond. 1676, fol.; Lond. 1686, fol.; Lond. 1705, fol.; and Lond. 1719, 8vo. The editions and the dates named by Haeser agree with those given in Aikin's Biographical Dictionary. But really there were three other editions. The Army Medical Staff Library at Netley possesses five complete editions of Wiseman's works. They bear the dates respectively of 1672, 1676, 1696, 1719, and 1734. I have a copy of the folio edition of 1705, and this is stated on the title-page to be the fourth edition. The Library of the Royal College of Surgeons of England has an edition dated 1686. There is in the United States Army Medical Library at Washington, and also in the Library of the Royal Medico-Chirurgical Society in London, a copy of Wiseman's treatises in folio, which bears the date of 1692 on the title-page, but, as will be shown presently, this cannot be regarded as a separate and distinct edition, for it was really a previous edition fraudulently imposed on the public as a fresh one. Thus Wiseman's works certainly passed through seven editions, none of which were mere re-issues, like that dated 1692, but all actual reprints. It is now known that only two of these editions, those of 1672 and 1676, appeared in Wiseman's lifetime, and that the latter

of these two was published about three months only prior to his death.

I have alluded to the volume published by Wiseman in 1672 as one of the editions of his works, contrary to custom, because he himself calls it "the former edition," relatively to his edition of 1676. (See edit. 1676, bk. v. ch. 9, "Of Wounds of the Head," p. 393, where he writes: "A person was wounded near the vertex (by a blow I told you in the former edition), but have been since informed it was by a puncture of a dagger.") It is difficult to regard this volume of 1672 as an independent work, or in any other light than as the first, as it was the earliest, though not full, edition of his surgical treatises. The title is different, but the treatises that are published in it are repeated in the next edition of 1676, only with a few emendations, and with the addition of some other treatises. The publishers of the subsequent editions have, however, adopted the edition of 1676 as the first edition, though there is nothing in the book itself to warrant its being so called. In accordance with this arrangement of the booksellers, the edition of 1686 is called the "Second Edition" on the title-page. But even this arrangement has not been systematically maintained in all the subsequent publications of Wiseman's works, and thus a certain amount of confusion has been caused in the enumeration of the successive editions. Not only the work published in 1686 has "Second Edition" printed on its title-page, but the one next in date, that of 1692, also bears "Second Edition" on its

title-page. The difficulty this has occasioned is shown by the manner in which the volume is catalogued in the Medico-Chirurgical Society's Library. It is thus described in the catalogue: "Wiseman (R.), Chirurgical Treatises, &c., second [third] edition, folio, Lond. 1692." Thus two volumes of different dates, that of 1686 and that of 1692, are both entitled second editions.¹ The edition of 1696 has "Third Edition" on its title-page; that of 1705, "Fourth Edition," and the editions of 1719 and 1734 are in due course respectively named fifth and sixth editions.

The so-called edition of 1692 is the real offender in creating this confusion. Mr. Bailey, Librarian of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, who was good enough, at my request, to examine the copy of the 1692 edition in the Library of the Royal Medico-Chirurgical Society with much care, informed me that it is really the original edition of 1676 with a fresh, surreptitiously printed title-page. Mr. Bailey wrote to me: "The book has not been reprinted. This is very evident by comparing the pages, and, moreover, the list of errata given in the 1676 edition

¹ In the list given by Mr. Dixon in the *Medical Times and Gazette* of the various editions of Wiseman's works, the edition published in 1696 is not mentioned, and hence Mr. Dixon describes the spurious edition of 1692 as "really the *third* edition, but by a misprint the word 'second' stands on the title-page." This accords with the description of the volume printed in the catalogue of the Library of the Royal Medico-Chirurgical Society of London, mentioned above in the text. Wiseman's volume of treatises published in 1792 is not included in Mr. Dixon's list. Moreover, the date 1714 is assigned to the fifth edition instead of 1719. This is probably a printer's error. (See the *Medical Times and Gazette*, Oct. 19, 1872, p. 443.)

appears in the 1692 edition, though they were corrected in the real second edition of 1686. The first and second editions are published by Royston & Took ; the spurious second edition (1692) is published by another bookseller—'London, printed, and are to be sold by Samuel Clement at the Swan in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1692.' There seems no doubt but that Clement got hold of a copy or copies of the first edition, and printed his own title-page, calling the book 'Second Edition,' notwithstanding the fact that a real second edition had been issued by the original publishers in 1686." There is no ground for suspecting the existence of any fallacy in this conclusion, and the occurrence affords a remarkable instance of effrontery on the part of an unscrupulous bookseller.¹ How many such spurious editions Clement disposed of, there are no means of proving, but he would hardly have gone to the trouble of having a fresh title-page printed for merely one or two copies. The imposture was not confined to the fabrication of the first edition of 1676 into a second edition, but Clement even treated the real second edition, which had been issued only six years previously, in the same way. The so-called edition of

¹ Since the above was written, I have myself examined the 1692 volume in question, with the assistance of Mr. MacAllister, Librarian to the Royal Medico-Chirurgical Society. Not only do the proofs of its being the edition of 1676, mentioned above in the text, exist, but, while the body of the book is printed on the well-known water-marked foolscap paper, as are all the copies of 1676, the title-page is printed on differently stamped paper, and, on close observation, it may be seen to have been pasted into the book in the place of a title-page which has been cut out, obviously the title-page of the book published by Wiseman in 1676.

1692 in the Army Medical Library at Washington is not made up from the 1676 edition, like the one in the Medico-Chirurgical Society's Library, but is a falsified 1686 edition. It differs in no respect from the 1686 edition beyond the composition of the title-page with its fresh date, and the fact that the third leaf, bearing the *imprimatur* of the College of Physicians, is omitted. The title-page has been pasted in in the same way that it has been in the volume in the Medico-Chirurgical Society's Library. It is evident from these facts that Mr. Clement was not particular about the dates of the books he converted into his so-called second edition, and it can easily be imagined how persons who had no means of comparing the several editions with each other might be misled by the fraud imposed upon them. It is not easy to explain how the copies were obtained which were thus converted into special 1692 editions; but whatever the explanation may be, there certainly are now known to exist two samples of them, one in London, being the edition of 1676 with a freshly-printed title-page to replace the original one, and another in Washington, with the same title-page inserted, but used to replace the title-page of the real second edition of 1686. No doubt other examples of the application of this curious imposture to Wiseman's treatises are to be found in other libraries.

There are several particulars respecting the real editions¹ which appear to be worth mention. The

¹ The dates of these editions in succession are 1672, 1676, 1686, 1696, 1705, 1719, and 1734.

first has for its title-page: "A treatise of Wounds. By Richard Wiseman, one of His Majestie's Sergeant Chirurgeons. London, Printed by R. Norton, for Richard Royston, Bookseller to His most Sacred Majesty. 1672." It is a closely-printed 8vo volume of 277 pages, and is divided into two principal parts. An Appendix follows. The letter to the reader and list of contents occupy twelve pages, but are not numbered in the book. The first part, containing the treatise on wounds, is divided into ten chapters; the second part, which contains the treatise on gunshot wounds, is also divided into ten chapters. The two parts are separately paged. The Appendix is paged with the second part, and contains the treatises on burns, gangrene and sphacelus, fistulæ, and fractures. Wiseman mentions that he has other treatises on tumours, lues venerea, and king's evil, "which ly rough cast," and may come to light if this volume should encourage him by its success to publish them. Wiseman in one place calls the book a "small tract," and he finishes his "Letter to the Reader" with the following remarks on its small size:—"The whole is contracted into a little bulk, and yet I hope nothing is wanting that is necessary to thy instruction; it becomes by this means cheaper and more portable, and if those conveniences be accompanied with a sufficient perspicuity delivering, and fulness in handling what I undertook, it is all that is desired by thy friend to serve thee."¹

¹ I have been particular in describing this edition of 1672, as it is a most rare work. No library in the kingdom, so far as I have been

The "Letter to the Reader" in this edition is a long one, but differs entirely from the "Epistle to the Reader" in the subsequent edition of 1676. It has simply the initials R. W. as the signature attached to it, and is without date; the "Epistle to the Reader" in the edition of 1676 concludes with the words "thy friend and servant, Richard Wiseman," and is dated May 24, 1676. The treatise on "Wounds in General," and the one on "Gunshot Wounds," in the 8vo edition of 1672, are repeated in the handsome and costly folio edition of 1676, but they are revised throughout, and additional illustrative cases are printed with them. Wiseman states in his work of 1672 that his reason for quoting so few examples in illustration of his remarks is to avoid the risk of causing offence, "so many, both surgeons and patients, therein concerned, being alive." In the year 1676 he was already able to add rather considerably to the number of cases he could

able to ascertain, possesses a copy of it, excepting the Library of the British Museum and the Library of the Army Medical Staff at Netley. There is no copy of it among the vast number of books contained in the Libraries of the Royal College of Surgeons of England and Royal College of Physicians, in the Bodleian Library, or in the United States Library at Washington. Its existence seems to have been unknown to all the writers who have enumerated the published writings of Wiseman. The copy of the 1672 edition in the Army Medical Staff Library is a very handsome one. It is in perfect condition, in its original morocco binding, ornamented in the Harleian style, with the edges of the pages deeply gilt, and the well-known Dutch marble-paper at the beginning and end of the book. It appears like a presentation copy, but it contains no inscription nor writing, and nothing is known of its history beyond the fact that it was presented to the Library by Sir James M'Grigor, Bart. The copy in the Library of the British Museum is complete, but is greatly disfigured by professional notes written on nearly every page of the work.

quote without any such risk. In the editions which were published after the year 1676, the epistle to the reader, with the original date of May 24, 1676, together with the text, are repeated without any alteration. Even Wiseman's reference, in the edition of 1676, to "the former edition," is literally transcribed, without any change or explanation of the particular edition referred to. Properly speaking, therefore, they are not other editions, though generally so styled, but simply republications. The fact is so far important, because it shows, independently of other proofs that are now capable of being adduced, that the 1676 edition was the last which passed through the author's hands.

One curious error in printing that occurred in the handsome and expensively-typed edition of 1676—curious from its obvious nature and frequent repetition—was corrected in all subsequent reprints of this volume. The treatises of which the work is composed are separated from one another, there being a special title-page to each. Each treatise has at the head of every page the title of its subject, the number of the book, and that of the chapter, printed in conspicuous letters. The "Treatise of Fractures and Luxations" is the seventh of these books; but the treatise that follows, "Of Lues Venerea," is also headed "The Seventh Book," and bears "Book VII." on every page throughout the treatise. The error seems only to have been discovered when the "Table of the Severall Treatises and Chapters" in the volume was being arranged, for in this table

alone it is stated that Treatise VIII. has been *misprinted VII.*

At the end of the volume of 1672, after the text, appears the word "Imprimatur," with the date "Ap. 4, 1672," attached to it. This imprimatur is subscribed "Guliel. Wigan," without any official or other designation. Who this William Wigan was, and under what authority he acted in giving the sanction for the printing of Wiseman's book, has been a question, and for some time was a puzzle to myself. I ascertained that he had not conveyed the license of either the College of Physicians or of the Company of Barber-Surgeons for the printing of the book, for, on search being made, no such name could be found on the rolls or records of either of these two corporate bodies. At last I discovered, with the assistance of the present Vicar of Kensington, that the Reverend William Wigan was both Vicar of Kensington and Chaplain to the Bishop of London¹ at the date mentioned. This solved the question, for by a statute² of Parliament which came into force in the year 1662, all books on physick, or on any other science or art, printed in Lon-

¹ Humfrey Henchman, who was translated to the See of London from that of Salisbury in 1663. He remained Bishop of London until the year 1675.

² This statute, which was passed in Charles II.'s reign, and came into force in June 1662, ordered that all books should be licensed. Law-books were to have the imprimatur of the Lord Chancellor or of one of the Chief-Justices; books of history and state were to be licensed by one of the Secretaries of State; books of heraldry, by the Earl-Marshal or King-at-Arms; books of divinity, physick, philosophy, or of whatsoever science or art, by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London; or, if printed at either University, by the Chan-

don, had, previously to being printed, to be stamped with the license of the Archbishop of Canterbury or Bishop of London. The examination of the manuscript, and the signature confirming the license, seems to have been usually done by the Archbishop's or Bishop's chaplain, acting as his deputy.¹ Thus the imprimatur of Guliel. Wigan in Wiseman's book of 1672 really represented the license of the Bishop of London for its publication. The authority possessed by the heads of the Church over medical books and other works of science had probably descended from the time when all branches of learning were in the hands of ecclesiastics, and the exercise of this power might have been maintained on the plea of a necessity for ensuring that nothing contrary to the orthodox tenets of religion appeared in them. Even the approval and licensing of surgeons for the *practice* of their profession in London was vested in the Bishop of London by an Act of Parliament passed in the year 1511,² and it is certain

cellor. No books were permitted to be printed by this statute elsewhere than in London, York, and the two Universities. The powers of the Act were at first limited to a duration of two years, but the Act was renewed at the expiration of this term, and was not abrogated until May 1679.

¹ The license to print a book was sometimes signed by the Archbishop himself, although the usual signature was that of the Archbishop's chaplain. See a case in which the Archbishop acted under a previous statute of Parliament (Rushworth, v. i. p. 439, Remonstrance of House of Commons). Archbishop Laud's chaplain, Dr. Worral, was afraid to license the book or sign the imprimatur, so Archbishop Laud signed it himself.

² The full text of this Act of Parliament, which was passed in the third year of the reign of Henry VIII. (1511), is printed in the "Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London" by Mr. Sidney Young. By its provisions the licensing of surgeons for practice in the City of London, and

that, until a comparatively recent period, the Bishop could still have exercised this power if he had chosen to do so.

A remark on the last page of Wiseman's book of 1672 informs the reader that it had been hastily printed. A certain number of errata are indicated, and the necessary corrections of them given, but the observation is added that "there are other literal faults occasioned by the hasty printing this treatise." These are left for the reader to discover. The typography of the copy before me is very fine and clear, but the work throughout exhibits an absence of that methodical arrangement which characterises the next edition published in 1676.

The corporation of the Barber-Surgeons, by the privileges vested in the Company through its charters, independently of the additional licensing power vested in the dignitaries of the Church, exercised authority in Wiseman's time over all the printed writings of its associates, and no book could be published by any member of the fraternity without having previously undergone successfully the censor-

within seven miles of the City, was placed in the hands of the Bishop of London and Dean of St. Paul's. Surgeons were to be examined by experienced persons of their own Faculty, but the ecclesiastical authorities had to be satisfied that the examination was duly conducted, and only after their approval was the necessary license to practise conferred. This Act had not been repealed in Wiseman's time, and indeed even so late as the fortieth year of the reign of George III., when a fresh charter was obtained by the College of Surgeons of England, the legal title to practise surgery in any part of the kingdom was not restricted to members of the College, but "any one licensed by the Ordinary or Vicar-General of his Diocese" had equal right to engage in surgical practice.

ship of the Company's officers.¹ Although not so stated in the book itself, it is therefore certain that Wiseman's book had obtained the approval of the Corporation of which he was a member. The folio edition of 1676, however, not only had the sanction of his own special Corporation, but is stamped with the additional approval of the Royal College of Physicians, a body which at that time held a much higher place with respect to the general erudition of its members, and a more distinguished position altogether in public estimation, than the Company of Barber-Surgeons. The approval of the work by the College of Physicians, to whom it was evidently submitted before being put into print, is signed by the President, Censors, and Registrar of the College, and is couched in the following terms:—"Tractatus hi Chirurgici si prelo mandentur, magno id commodo Medicis pariter ac Chirurgis cessurum judicamus." (We judge that it will be of great advantage to physicians equally with surgeons if these surgical treatises be committed to the press.²) This recom-

¹ "Ordered: Yf any man of this mysterie shall at any tyme hereafter" (A.D. 1588) "make any Booke or Bookes of Surgerie, the same shall not be published unles the same booke or bookes be first presented unto the masters, governors, and examenors of this Companie for the tyme being upon payne of xli."—*Memorials of the Craft of Surgery in England*, by South, p. 185. See also "Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London," p. 319. The date of the order here given is 20th March 1578.

² The names of the officers of the College whose signatures are appended to the recommendation above quoted are the following:—George Ent, Knt., M.D., Prest, Royal College of Physicians, London; Tho. Coxe, M.D., Elector and Censor; Dan. Whistler, M.D., Registrar and Censor; Humphr. Brooke, M.D., Censor; and Tho. Franckland, M.D., Censor.

mentation and the same names are repeated at the beginning of each of the subsequent editions of the work that have come under my observation. The imprimatur signed Guliel. Wigan is not repeated in any of these editions.

Wiseman's name is not mentioned in South's "Memorials of the Craft of Surgery in England," but we learn from Wiseman himself that his treatise on "Fractures" was first written and delivered as a lecture in the Hall of the Barber-Surgeons' Company.¹ He also mentions that it would have been succeeded by the delivery, as lectures, of the other treatises in his book, had the arrangement not been prevented by the "Great Fire." As Wiseman mentions that he resided in the North during the year of the "Great Plague" (1665), it seems evident that he delivered the lecture on "Fractures" at the Barber-Surgeons' Hall at some time in the year 1666, probably shortly before the month of September of that year, when the Great Fire of London occurred.

The greater part of the Barber-Surgeons' Hall was destroyed by the conflagration, but the theatre, a detached building, or partially detached building, constructed by Inigo Jones, with a large room near to it, escaped the flames. The wide destruction and general confusion which resulted from this most disastrous fire sufficiently explain the interruption in

¹ It is on record that public lectures on surgery were founded in London in 1582 by John Lumleie, Lord Lumleie, and Dr. R. Caldwell, who bequeathed lands for their maintenance, and it was doubtless under this foundation that Wiseman gave his lecture on "Fractures" in the Barber-Surgeons' Hall before the Great Fire of 1666.

the delivery of lectures at the Hall, although the theatre itself had been preserved. The records of the Barber-Surgeons' Company at this period, and indeed during a considerable portion of the seventeenth century, viz., from 1651 to 1689, are most unfortunately not available for reference. Mr. Sidney Young, whose published collection of the Annals of the Company abounds with matter of historical interest, so far as the craft of surgery in England is concerned, states that the missing minutes were at the Hall about forty years ago, and hints that their absence at the present time may have been due to theft.¹ The lost minutes embrace an important period of Wiseman's life. The particulars contained in these lost annals and records might have furnished the means of throwing light on some points in his history which still remain obscure, but, as will be seen hereafter, it could hardly be expected, even if they were forthcoming, that they would have contained very much concerning him, owing to the bad state of his health at the time. He was evidently so far an invalid as to make it unlikely that he would have taken part in any Company meetings or social gatherings that he could have conveniently avoided. Ten years later, in 1676, he writes that he had been an invalid for the

¹ "Annals of the Barber-Surgeons' Company of London," by Sidney Young. London, Blades & Co., 1890. (See the preface, p. iv.) "The minutes from 1651-1689 are now missing, although they were at the Hall about forty years ago;" and again, p. 143, "Our minute books for 1666 having been lost or *stolen*, we unfortunately have no records of the Great Fire."

past twenty years, and his ill state of health seems to have been gradually on the increase during the whole of this period.

In the list of Masters of the Barber-Surgeons' Company given in Mr. Young's book, Wiseman is mentioned as having held the office during one of the years of which the records are missing, viz., the year 1665. This was the year of the Great Plague. It seems probable that scarcely any lectures or general meetings of the members of the Company, if any at all, took place in the Hall during this year, but, owing to the loss of the minute books, no certain information concerning the occurrences of this year, any more than of those of the following year (the year of the Great Fire), can be procured. Wiseman mentions that he remained in the country during the year of the Great Plague (1665), and history furnishes sufficient evidence to show that every one who was able to do so left the city while the plague lasted. The minutes of the proceedings of the Barber-Surgeons' Company are forthcoming for the year 1636, and it is recorded in them that in consequence of a visitation of the plague in London during that year, though it was a very minor visitation compared with the one of 1665, the Court of the Company resolved that no meetings shall take place "till it shall please God to cease the sickness," in order to prevent the risk of spreading the infection. Still more is it likely that no meetings were held in 1665, during which year, it is recorded, the plague, which first appeared in December 1664, con-

tinued to increase in severity from month to month, until, in September, the deaths amounted to 8000 a week from it—in one week to 12,000—so that altogether about 100,000 persons perished, notwithstanding the relatively limited number of the inhabitants at that time, and the flight from the city of almost every one who could find means of making their escape from it.

Mr. Young was good enough to search the records of the Barber-Surgeons' Company to endeavour to discover when Wiseman was admitted to the livery, but he did not meet with precise information on the object of his search. Mr. Young was led to conclude, however, that it was between the 20th August 1663 and the 18th August 1664, as he found that at some time during this period he was admitted to the Court of Assistants, no doubt with the intention of qualifying for Master in the ensuing year, 1665. Mr. Young mentions that the books of the Company contain various examples of King's Surgeons having been made free, admitted to the livery, and also to the Court, on one and the same day, and the next year holding the office of Master over the heads of a number of Assistants, who, as a general rule, went up in turn to that dignity. Each Assistant usually served as Reuterⁿ Warden one year, Middle Warden another, and then Upper Warden; but in the days when Wiseman lived, the office of Warden involved a very great amount of real work, and a man of eminence in his profession was usually excused from serving in these offices. This was no

doubt what happened in Wiseman's case, for he never served as a Warden of the Company.

Although Wiseman, in his military capacity, is chiefly known as an army surgeon in the time of our great Civil War, his earliest service was as a naval surgeon. Two periods of his life were passed as a surgeon on board ships of war, but neither on board British ships. His first period of professional duty was in the navy of Holland; his second, but this was at a much later period of his life, in the navy of Spain. The length of time passed by him in active service afloat must have far exceeded the time passed in active service ashore. His first publication, dated in 1672, was specially written for naval surgeons. He states this at one part of the book, and in his preface to the work mentions that his knowledge and experience as an English "artist in chirurgy" had been gained by practice on board ship no less than on shore. "I do pretend to have spent my time," he writes, "in armies, navies, and cities, not in universities; nor to have been much conversant in books, through my constant employment in, and the little leisure I had from, my profession."¹

A study of all the circumstances alluded to in his treatises, and of the cases mentioned in them, especially of those connected with wounds, leads to the inference that his services on board ships of war occupied the whole of the time he was practising as a surgeon prior to the period of his service in the military operations in the West

¹ Preface to the Reader, edit. 1672.

of England in 1645. There was nothing remarkable, at the time when Wiseman lived, in a surgeon practising for one period in the navy, and afterwards for another period in the army; nor, indeed, in the fact of his serving under the flag of any foreign country which at the time was on friendly terms with England. The two great public military services — the navy and army — were not then as distinct in England as they are at the present day. Officers of all branches of the military service, and of all ranks, occasionally held commissions for sea-service at one time, and at another time for service on land. Just as an officer in general command might for a time be commanding troops on shore, like the famous Admiral Blake when operating against the King's forces in the West of England, and subsequently be ordered to take command of a fleet as "general at sea," so a surgeon might at one time be serving with a regiment in the field, and at another as a "sea-chyrurgeon" on board ship. And history abounds with examples in the old days of both officers and men engaging themselves for service among foreigners as auxiliaries when engagements for service in their own country were not available. It seems very probable, not only that Wiseman's earliest experience in professional practice was acquired on board ship, but that even his apprenticeship was served at sea. The Richard Smith who presented Wiseman to the Barber-Surgeons' Company as his apprentice in 1637 may himself have been employed as a sur-

geon in the Dutch Royal Navy. There is no direct evidence that it was so, as far as I am aware, but it seems hardly possible to reconcile with other known events of his life, Wiseman's statement that in the year 1672 he had been between thirty and forty years actively engaged in professional pursuits, unless it had so happened.

Many English officers and others were employed in the Dutch service at this period, both in the army and navy. There had long been an intimate relationship between the people of Holland and England, as well as between their respective rulers, the Princes of Orange and the Royal families of England. In both countries there had been an ardent movement in favour of civil and religious liberty, and a large proportion of the population of both countries had adopted the reformed or Protestant religion. The fact that the States-General had a few years previously made an English nobleman, the Earl of Leicester, Captain-General of the seven United Provinces, shows the friendly feeling entertained toward England in Queen Elizabeth's days, while later on, in 1597, we find that an English force joined with the Dutch and aided them in defeating a Spanish army at Turnhooft, and also, three years later, an Austrian army at Nieupoort. Hostilities with Spain were resumed by the Dutch in 1622, and were continued at intervals for many years subsequently, so that to obtain the services of auxiliaries from a friendly country was probably no less a matter of national necessity than one of general policy.

Wiseman has, unfortunately, not left any record either of the date when he entered the Dutch naval service or of the time when he quitted it, although he incidentally mentions the length of time he was in the Royal Navy of Spain.¹ It is noticeable that he does not allude in his treatises to any cases of wounds or injuries having been treated by him on shore, whether in civil or in military practice, before the days when he was serving under the command of the Prince of Wales during the fighting in the West of England, so that, as already mentioned, the whole of his surgical experience up to that time seems to have been gained in the naval service of Holland. He alludes to the period of his life which was passed in the Dutch service as if it had been of long duration,² and as if he had been in many naval engagements in the course of it. He writes as if particular details of some of the events that took place in this service had passed from his recollection owing to the length of time that had lapsed since they occurred,³ when his *Treatise on Wounds*,

¹ "Of which I have seen the frequent experiment during the three years I served in the King of Spain's Navy, where our mariners, as soon as their pockets were full of money, would be getting ashore to the negroes and other common women that usually attended their landing," &c.—Of "*Lues Venerea*," *op. cit.*, edit. 1676, p. 3.

² "In the Armada Naval de Dunquerque, where we Chirurgeons were oft employed in this Service, we after every fight went together, visiting one another's wounded men," &c.—*Op. cit.*, edit. 1672, Part II. p. 6, of "*Gunshot Wounds*."

³ Wiseman, in writing of the position in which a patient about to undergo amputation of a limb should be placed, says, "Seat him so as it may be for your conveniency. At sea they sit or lye; I never took

&c., was published in 1672. The long time he had served at sea, and his many naval associations, naturally led him to keep in view particularly the needs of naval surgeons when he was writing his treatise on Gunshot Wounds and the Appendix on Burns. "Having thus finished the Discourse of Wounds," he writes, "I considered with myself that my design was to help the Sea-Chirurgeons, who seldom trouble their cabins with many books. Now, besides Wounds, we know by our experience that Burnings by Gunpowder and other materials do too frequently happen at Sea; and also by ill dressing of Wounds Gangrenes and Fistulæ arise." Then follows the chapter on Burns.¹

Wiseman's introduction to surgical practice must have been of a very rough and primitive character. The circumstances under which surgical operations have been performed, and the modes of dealing generally with the wounded in the cockpit of a vessel of war in comparatively recent times, have not been of a very refined or advanced kind; but in the holds of the vessels of Wiseman's days, with the primitive surgical instruments, dressings, and appliances at his disposal, and the coarse, drinking habits of the Dutch sailors he had to deal with, such scenes as he must have participated in would in our days be regarded

much notice, nor do I remember I had ever anybody to hold them; with the help of my Mates, and some one or two that belongeth to the Hold, I went on with my work. But when we have convenience to proceed more formally, we place the Patient in a Chair," &c.—*Op. cit.*, edit. 1672, p. 91, "On Amputation."

¹ *Op. cit.*, edit. 1672, p. 74.

as almost barbarous and intolerable. In his observations many instances occur of wounds inflicted in action on board ship, some of them wounds of the severest nature. "In our Sea-fights oftentimes a Buttock, the Brawn of the Thigh, the Calf of the Leg, are torn off by Chain-shot and Splinters. All these are contused Wounds, and look black, and do too often deceive the unexperienced Chirurgeon, he taking them by their aspect to be gangrened," &c.¹

Occasionally he gives us a little insight into the circumstances in which the wounded sailors were placed, and the conditions under which they had to be treated on board ship. Here is an example:—

"In heat of Fight at Sea, amongst the many wounded men that were put down into the Hold to me, one of them had his right Arm extremely shattered about two fingers-breadth on the outside above the Elbow by a great Splinter. I ought to have cut off this man's Arm presently; but a sudden cry that our Ship was on fire put me in such disorder that I rather thought of saving myself than dressing my patients. I hastily clapt a Dressing upon the Wound and rowled it up, leaving his Arm in his other Hand to support it, and endeavoured to get out of the Hold as the others did, verily believing I should never dress him nor any of them more. But our men bravely quitted themselves of the Fire-Ship by cutting the Sprit-sail-Tackle off with their short Hatchets (which they wore during Fight sticking in their Sashes). So we were freed of the Fire, and by

¹ *Op. cit.*, edit. 1676, Bk. vi. ch. vi. p. 428.

our hoisting up the Top-sails got clear of our Enemy, and I returned to my work." (Edit. 1676, Bk. vi. ch. v. p. 425.)

Incidentally he mentions the kind of bed on which the patient was lying for two months while the cure, which eventually resulted, was in progress ; and the description of it seems to indicate how little preparation was made in the matter of hospital equipment for the care of the wounded :—

"The Fight being over, and we gotten into the next Port, I caused this Mariner's bed to be set up (which was four pieces of Wood nailed together and corded, and a Bear's Skin laid upon it, and fastened between two Guns to the Carriages); upon this I saw him placed," &c. (*Loc. cit.*, p. 426.)

Although Wiseman wrote in his account of the foregoing case that he ought to have cut off the patient's arm immediately, he was no advocate for amputation in cases of wounds whenever the proceedings could be reasonably avoided. On this subject he gives the following advice :—

"Consider well the Member, and if you have no probable hope of Sanation, cut it off quickly, while the Souldier is heated and in mettle. But if there be hopes of Cure, proceed rationally to a right and methodicall Healing of such Wounds ; it being more for your Credit to save one Member than to cut off many." (*Loc. cit.*, p. 240.)

Again on this subject he remarks :—

"Among the Cruisers in private Fregats from Dunkirk it was complained that their Chirurgeons

were too active in amputating those fractured members, as in truth there are such silly Brothers who will brag of the many they have dismembered, and think that way to lie themselves into credit. But they that truly understand Amputation and their Trade will know how villainous a thing it is to glory in such a work." (Edit. 1676, Bk. vi. ch. v. p. 240.)

Although throughout his treatises a very strong advocate for early amputation of limbs when the operation is decided upon, he carefully points out that the amputation should only be performed after the surgeon has satisfied himself that no reasonable ground exists for expecting the functions of the damaged member to be restored by conservative treatment.

"In heat of Fight," he writes, "whether it be at Sea or Land, the Chirurgeon ought to consider at the first Dressing what possibility there is of preserving the wounded member; and accordingly, if there be no hopes of saving it, to make his Amputation at that instant while the Patient is free of Fever," &c. (Edit. 1676, Bk. vi. ch. ii. p. 451.)

He alludes to a very useful custom that prevailed among the naval surgeons with whom he was associated of visiting each others' patients for purposes of observation and mutual instruction. In one place he remarks:—

"In the Armada Naval de Dunquerque, where we Chirurgeons were oft employed in this Service (extracting of Bullets and other Extraneous Bodies) we

after every fight went together, visiting one another's wounded men." (Edit. 1672, Part II. p. 6.)

And again on another occasion he writes:—

"When it came to my turn to be visited by my Brother Chirurgeons of our Squadron, they did not dislike the Wound, nor my way of dressing; but they laught at the excuse I made for not cutting off his Arm, and doubted I should yet be forced to do it" (*Op. cit.*, edit. 1676, p. 427). Wiseman mentions that the patient alluded to eventually recovered without the loss of his arm.

As an army surgeon, Wiseman is generally described as having first distinguished himself in his profession in the Civil Wars under Charles I. This is rather misleading, as no limitation is assigned to the period of his service in the army. No record exists, as far as I am aware, showing the precise date when Wiseman left the naval service in which he had been previously employed, or under what circumstances he quitted it. Neither does any known document exist from which the date when he joined the Royalist army can be ascertained with precision. He does not, however, seem to have been present with the King's forces in any of the early or most important battles of the great Civil War. None of the wounds and injuries described by him in his writings as having fallen directly under his care are referred to any of the fights at which the King was present in chief command, nor, indeed, to any of the principal battles that occurred during the reign of Charles I. The names of Edgehill, Newbury, Marston Moor,

notwithstanding the large numbers of men and officers wounded at these hotly-contested engagements, are not mentioned by Wiseman. Neither is the great decisive struggle of the war, the fight at Naseby, referred to by him.¹ If we may judge from the evidence afforded by Wiseman's writings, it must have been in the year 1643 or early in the year 1644 that he first joined the army and became actively engaged in the field, his service with the troops taking place successively in Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall, where the Royalists still retained what at first, at the time mentioned, appeared to be a secure footing. We know from his writings that he was at the surprise of the forts at Weymouth, which took place on the 9th of February 1644-45; that he remained at Weymouth during the siege which followed owing to the Parliamentary troops being allowed to fortify themselves in Melcombe Regis,² and was actually in

¹ It was at the time when the series of successes of the Parliamentary forces under Sir Thomas Fairfax over the King's troops in the West, which were nominally under the command of the Prince of Wales, were gradually causing the Prince to abandon position after position, and to retire toward the coast of Cornwall, that the important battle of Naseby, in Northamptonshire, was fought. The battle took place in June 1645, and the fact of Wiseman being at the time with the armies under the Prince of Wales in the West of England sufficiently explains there being no references in Wiseman's writings to any of the wounds inflicted at Naseby. If Wiseman's active employment in the field began with the commencement of the campaign under the Prince of Wales in the West of England, and ended at the time the Prince left England, Wiseman's military services while Charles I. was King must have lasted just one year.

² When mentioning wounds resulting from the fighting at Melcombe Regis, Wiseman refers to the military operations against the place in February 1644-45, when the Royalists made unsuccessful efforts to drive

Weymouth, and must have narrowly escaped from being made prisoner or wounded at the time of the recapture of the principal fort at Weymouth by the Parliamentarians under Colonel Sydenham.¹ There is nothing to prove positively whether, previously to taking part in these military operations, he had been with the troops in Portland, or whether he came with the force that operated at the same time against Weymouth under Lord Goring, but he certainly was with one or other of these two bodies of troops. The following remark seems to render it probable that he had been with the troops holding Portland Castle, as he must have been close at hand when the case he mentions occurred. He is writing of the treatment of gunshot wounds attended with hæmorrhage :—" A great hæmorrhage," he says, " happening

the Parliamentarians out of the town. He thus describes a case of wound of the brain which occurred on this occasion :—

" At the Siege of *Melcomb-Regis*, a Foot-souldier of Lieutenant Colonell *Ballard's*, by the grazing of a Cannon-shot, had a great part of his Forehead carried off, and the Skull fractured into many pieces, and some of it driven with the Hairy scalp into the Brain. The man fell down as dead, but after a while moved ; and an hour or two after, his Fellow-souldiers seeing him endeavour to rise, fetcht me to him. I pulled out the pieces of Bones and lacerated Flesh from amongst the Brain, in which they were intangled, and drest him up with soft folded Linen dipt in a Cephalick Balsam, and with Emplaster and Bandage bound him up, supposing I should never dress him any more. Yet he lived 17 days ; and the 15 day walkt from that great Corner-fort over against *Portland* to the Bridge which separates *Weymouth* from *Melcomb-Regis*, onely led by the hand of some one of his Fellow-souldiers. The second day after he fell into a *Spasmus*, and died, howling like a Dog ; as most of those do who have been so wounded." (*Op. cit.*, edit. 1676, Bk. v. ch. ix. p. 402.)

¹ For a brief account of the interesting circumstances connected with the capture of Weymouth by the Royalist troops and its subsequent recapture by the Parliamentary troops, see Appendix, No. XXII.

to a Souldier at the Surprise of Weymouth by the Garrison of Portland, by a shot through the heel, I endeavoured the stopping the blood by astringents, bandage, &c. But after all, I was put to the use of the actuall Cautery, which I did apply successfully." Certain other references made by him to this period seem to indicate that at the time of the fighting at Weymouth he was one of the surgeons of a battalion under the command of Colonel Ballard, for all the wounded at this time whose cases he describes belonged to this regiment. After the failure of Lord Goring's night-attack upon Melcombe he seemsto have accompanied the troops under his direct command into Somersetshire and Cornwall. He makes special references to the siege of Taunton¹ and to the fighting at Truro. These are all the actions named by

¹ Wiseman alludes to Taunton when describing a gunshot wound of the face to which he was called during the siege. The injury done by the shot was very extensive, and was as terrible in its nature and circumstances as any wound that could be produced by a modern projectile of the most approved pattern and greatest wounding capacity in our own day. The fact is that the most serious import of the changes which have taken place since Wiseman's day in the effects of war, so far as concerns its surgical aspects, does not consist in an increased severity of individual wounds, but in the increased numbers in which wounds occur within short spaces of time, as well as in the increase of the areas over which they extend, in modern battles. These are really the circumstances that constitute the chief difficulties which the Army Medical Service has now to contend against in time of war by comparison with those which had to be dealt with in the time of our Civil Wars.

The following is Wiseman's account of the wounded man's sad condition:—"At the Siege of Taunton one of *Colonell Arundell's* men, in storming the Works, was shot in the Face by Case-shot. He fell down, and in the Retreat was carried off among the dead, and laid into an empty house by the way, untill the next day; when in the morning early, the Colonell marching by that house heard a knocking within against the Door. Some of the Officers desiring to know what it was

Wiseman in which he took part during the reign of Charles I., and he himself in his latter years seems to refer to the period during which these engagements took place as the only time when he was serving as an army surgeon under the rule of this monarch. In one of his observations he remarks: "While I was in the King's service, in the time of the war in the West-Country," &c. (Ed. 1672, p. 62). Wiseman's experience of wounds inflicted in battle, so far as fighting on shore was concerned, was, therefore,

lookt in, and saw this man standing by the Door without Eye, Face, Nose, or Mouth. The Col. sent to me (my Quarters being nearest) to dresse the man. I went, but was somewhat troubled where to begin. The Door consisted of two Hatches; the uppermost was open, and the man stood leaning upon the other part of the Door which was shut. His Face, with his Eyes, Nose, Mouth, and forepart of the Jaws, with the Chin, was shot away, and the remaining parts of them driven in. One part of the Jaw hung down by his Throat, and the other part pasht into it. I saw the Brain working out underneath the lacerated Scalp on both sides between his Ears and Brows. I could not see any advantage he could have by my Dressing. To have cut away the lacerated parts here had been to expose the Brain to the Air. But I helpt him to clear his Throat, where was remaining the Root of his Tongue. He seemed to approve of my Endeavours, and implored my Help by the Signs he made with his Hands. I askt him if he would drink, making a Sign by the holding up a Finger. He presently did the like, and immediately after held up both his Hands, expressing his Thirst. A Souldier fetcht some Milk, and brought a little wooden Dish to pour some of it down his Throat; but part of it running on both sides, he reacht out his Hands to take the Dish. They gave it him full of Milk. He held the Root of his Tongue down with the one Hand, and with the other poured it down his Throat (carrying his Head backward), and so got down more than a quart. After that I bound his Wounds up. The dead were removed from thence to their Graves, and fresh Straw was fetcht for him to lie upon, with an old Blanket to cover him. It was in the Summer. There we left that deplorable creature to lodge; and while we continued there, which was about 6 or 7 days, he was drest by some of the Chirurgeons with a Fomentation made of Vulnerary Plants, with a little Brandy-wine in it, and with Stupes of Tow dipt in our common Digestive." (*Op. cit.*, edit. 1676, Bk. v. ch. ix. p. 403.)

really gained under Charles II., at first when he was Prince of Wales, and subsequently in the various engagements which took place when he was King in the years 1650 and 1651 in Scotland, ending with the decisive defeat of the army of Charles II. at Worcester.

The young Prince of Wales had been appointed nominally the commander of the troops who fought in the actions with which, it seems, Wiseman was first concerned on shore.¹ As the prospects of Charles I. grew more and more hopeless, the King, as may be seen by the published letters which were written by him to his son during the military operations in the West, became more and more anxious that the heir to the throne and himself should not be exposed together to the risks of the war and the animosity of the Republican party. Evidently this was the predominant motive which

¹ It was after the unsuccessful negotiations between Charles I. and the Parliament at Uxbridge in 1644 that the King sent the Prince of Wales to the West of England. Although the Prince was commissioned as "Commander of all the Forces of England," it could only have been as a matter of general policy, so young was he, and not an appointment which was intended to carry with it the exercise of the authority nominally attached to the office, although, according to Clarendon, various important matters were submitted to his decision. It gave the heir-apparent to the crown an established position, and ensured his safety. As the Prince was born on the 29th of May 1630, he was not quite fifteen years of age when he started on his journey to Bristol. On account of his youth he was placed under the guardianship of a Civil Council. The Chancellor of the Exchequer and Lords Colepepper and Capel were the principal personages of the Council, while the Earl of Berkshire was appointed to have care of the Prince's person and education. The King arranged from the first that the Prince, in case of the Royal troops not being victorious, should make his way to the coast and escape on board ship to France to join his mother, Queen Henrietta, but subsequently, in his anxiety for him to quit the kingdom, left it to himself and his Council to decide on the place he should go to.

had induced him to order the Prince to move to the south-western part of the kingdom, from whence he could most easily escape to the Continent in case of need. The Prince, in obedience to his father's commands, left the King's headquarters for Bristol on the 4th of March 1644-5, but towards the end of May had to move further west to Barnstaple. Subsequently he retired to various places in Cornwall, and eventually had to retreat from Truro and seek security in the fort of Pendennis Castle, on the west side of the entrance into Falmouth harbour. It was from this coast fort that, late at night on the 2nd of March 1645-6, he embarked on the *Phoenix*, a small vessel of four guns, which was in waiting for him, and so effected his escape to St. Mary's, in the Scilly Isles, where he landed on the following day. Wiseman was under the Prince's general command during all the military operations in the West of England, from their commencement at Bristol to their termination in Cornwall. He seems to have been on duty with the guards attached to the Prince's person and under the immediate orders of General Lord Hopton, who in May 1645 had been ordered by the King to take command of all the forces under the Prince. As already named, Wiseman alludes to several of the principal engagements that took place while the fighting in the West was in progress. He mentions the "beating of our Guards" near Truro, and in doing so gives a curious description of his own flight from the place. From the various facts just referred

to, from the absence of any allusion to the public events that occurred subsequently in England prior to the trial and execution of the King, and from the known subsequent relations between the Prince and Wiseman, it might have been safely inferred that Wiseman, after the rout and disbandment of the troops under Lord Hopton, had escaped from England about the same time as the Prince of Wales; but the fact that he did so is established beyond doubt by a petition, a copy of which will be found in the Appendix, from himself to King Charles II. after the Restoration. In it he recalls to the King's remembrance that he was the only surgeon who attended upon him when Prince of Wales from the West of England to Scilly, and subsequently in Jersey, France, Holland, and Scotland. Wiseman manifestly does not intend to imply that he was the only surgeon in attendance at any one or more of the places mentioned, but the only one who was continuously in attendance throughout the whole of them. While the Prince was in the West, and subsequently in Scilly, and during part of the time spent by him in Jersey, one of the King's sergeant-surgeons, by name Richard Pile,¹ was attached to the Prince as personal surgeon. He was associated with Dr. Frazer or Frasier, one of the King's physicians, who had been sent from Court to be in attendance on the Prince.² When

¹ In some places the name is spelled Pyle, while in others, as in Dr. Hoskins' work on Charles II. in the Channel Islands, it is erroneously quoted as Lyle.

² This name is variously spelled in old documents. Frasier, Frazier, Fraizer, Ffraiser, and Frayser are all met with.

all the precautionary measures that were arranged by the King to ensure the Prince's personal safety are taken into account, it was only what might be expected that, irrespective of the medical staff with the troops under the Prince's command, a personal physician and surgeon should be appointed by the King to accompany him.

In April 1646 the Prince of Wales succeeded in eluding the Parliamentary squadron that had been sent to the Scilly Isles for the purpose of obtaining possession of his person, but had been temporarily dispersed by a storm, and on the 16th of the month, embarking on a frigate of 160 tons, the *Proud Black Eagle*, he arrived at Jersey, and disembarked there on the following day. The frigate was accompanied by two smaller vessels, one containing the officers of the household with their families, the other, the *Phœnix*, the same vessel that had conveyed him to St. Mary's, having on board the troops forming his bodyguard, and carrying stores and provisions. Wiseman doubtless took passage on this vessel. The officers commanding, and other officers with the troops, were under the general command of Lords Hopton and Brentford. The Prince on this occasion remained in Jersey until the 29th of June 1646, when he left for France. It was in the course of this ten weeks' stay at Jersey that Wiseman was brought into closer relations with the Prince of Wales, but the particular circumstances under which Wiseman acquired the Prince's favourable notice have not been re-

corded. Sergeant-Surgeon Pile, in a petition to King Charles II. after the Restoration, alludes to the fact that he had been sent away from Jersey to England by him, but does not mention on what account this had been done. From this time, however, we find Wiseman occupying near the Prince a similar position to that which Surgeon Pile had previously occupied. It seems probable that Lord Hopton, from his knowledge of Wiseman's energy and ability as a surgeon with the troops under his command, or, according to one statement, from knowledge of him as his personal surgeon, had thought well to bring him to the special notice of the Prince. The fact that Lord Hopton had acted the part of a patron to him with the Prince is alluded to in a note by the Lieutenant of the Tower to Cromwell's secretary on the occasion of Wiseman's imprisonment in London in 1654 (see Appendix IV. No. 1).

A somewhat mysterious letter from the King to Wiseman, copied by Sir Edward Hyde, under date of Paris, May 1654, has been preserved among the Clarendon manuscripts. It has been thought to refer to Wiseman, the Sergeant-Surgeon. If this surmise be correct, it tends to show that Wiseman's relations with the Prince of Wales were not only of a professional kind, but were occasionally of a confidential character, and that a friendly intercourse was maintained between them after Wiseman's capture at the battle of Worcester and his removal to London. At the same time it is quite

possible that the King may have been writing to some one else of the name—perhaps, and, as it seems to me, more probably to John Wiseman, who was mixed up with an alleged conspiracy against Cromwell in the year 1654.¹ The following passages occur in the letter referred to: “Though I have directed none [letters] particularly to your selfe, yett I alwayes thought I writt to you whatsoever I sayd to your partner. I have sene your letters to your frends and like your opinion very well, and therefore you may be confident I will follow your counsell. I neede say nothinge to you of my kindnesse to you which you can never suspecte,” &c.²

Wiseman was evidently on very friendly terms with Mr. Edgeman,³ the secretary to Sir Edward Hyde, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer at the date quoted, but subsequently Lord Chancellor and Earl of Clarendon. In April 1649, when Wiseman was at The Hague in attendance on the Prince, then become Charles II., J. Clotterbooke, writing from Rouen to Edgeman, who was at The Hague with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, “desires to be commended to Mr. Wiseman.”⁴ On the 20th February 1651–2, shortly after Wiseman had got away from

¹ This John Wiseman is referred to later on in this Memoir (see p. 80).

² Calendar of Clarendon Papers, vol. ii. p. 363. A full extract from the letter, so far as it refers to Wiseman, will be found in the Appendix (see App. III. No. 15).

³ The name is spelt Edgman, in the “History of the Rebellion,” by Clarendon.

⁴ Calendar of Clarendon Papers, vol. i. p. 441.

his imprisonment at Chester after the battle of Worcester, a letter from Mr. Watson, chaplain to Lord Hopton, to Edgeman, dated from Bruges, alludes to "our poor brother Wiseman,"¹ and Wiseman's name is mentioned in various other letters to Mr. Edgeman, which are published among the Clarendon Papers.²

Wiseman accompanied the Prince when he left Jersey and proceeded to Paris, but he makes very few references in his writings to cases treated by him during his stay in France. He was probably too often moving from place to place, or too closely in attendance upon the Prince, to devote much attention to professional practice outside the Court circle. In one place, where he is describing the case of a patient who had been under his care in France for the effects of an old gunshot wound, his description shows that he was not fully master of his own time. Unfortunately he does not give the date in his reference to the case, nor mention in what part of France it occurred.³

The Prince of Wales was at The Hague in February 1649 when he got the news of the death of his father, Charles I., and he did not quit The Hague until the 5th of June following. There is sufficient

¹ Calendar of Clarendon Papers, vol. ii. p. 121.

² Ibid., pp. 57, 139, 143, 146, 232.

³ "An Officer of the King's army laboured long of a fistula occasioned by a Gunshot Wound in the upper part of the *Os tibiæ*, near the knee, where it had formerly been shattered, many fragments of Bones casting out at times. He had been sometime my patient in *France*; but here I finisht what I there attempted, and had not time to doe" (*Op. cit.*, edit. 1676, Bk. vi. ch. iii. p. 459).

evidence that Wiseman was with him at this time, for in a letter dated the 9th of April 1649, written by Mr. Clotterbooke to his friend Mr. Edgeman at The Hague, he tells him that he must not fail to commend his service, among others, to "that arch-grumbler Mr. Wiseman (see App. III. No. 3). On leaving The Hague, the Prince, now Charles II., went to Breda, and from there, travelling through Flanders, went to France, making his way to St. Germain, near Paris, where he arrived in August 1649. Again we have evidence that Wiseman remained in attendance on the King, for a letter from Mr. Watson to Edgeman shows that on June 6, the date of Mr. Watson's letter, Wiseman was no longer at The Hague, while another letter by the same writer, dated Breda, August 25, 1649, shows that Wiseman was then at St. Germain (see App. III. Nos. 4 and 5).

The second visit of Charles II. to the island of Jersey took place in September 1649. He had left St. Germain a few days before, with his brother the Duke of York, and travelling together through Normandy, they came to St. Malo on the coast. They left this port on the morning of the 17th September (O.S.), and on the afternoon of the same day cast anchor in the roadstead of St. Helier's, off Elizabeth Castle. Chevalier, in his journal of the events of this time, gives a list of the noblemen, gentlemen, and other individuals of note who accompanied the King and the Duke of York from France to Jersey on the 17th-27th September 1649, and, among others, he

mentions Doctor Frazer,¹ Doctor Wiseman,² as physicians. No particulars, as far as I am aware, are on record regarding Wiseman during this second sojourn of the Court in Jersey. Towards the end of the year an interchange of communications was going on between the governing powers in Scotland and Charles II., which ultimately led to an agreement for a meeting to take place between the King and the Scottish representatives at Breda, in the month of March following. On the 23rd of February 1650, according to the Gregorian style of computation which had been adopted in France, the King embarked from Elizabeth Castle and went to Coutances. On March the 3rd he met Queen Henrietta and others of his mother's Court at Beauvais, and after this meeting, which lasted a few days, he proceeded on his journey through Flanders to Breda, where, as is well known, the resolution was come to for his going to Scotland. There is sufficient evidence of the fact that Wiseman accompanied him on this journey, and was with the King at Breda. A certain J. Trethewy, in a letter to Mr. Edgeman, the secretary of Sir Edward Hyde, writes from Breda that "Wiseman is in great favour with the Presbyterians." His letter is dated May 5, 1650.³ This remark is the more noteworthy, as Clarendon

¹ The names are strangely misspelt (see App. XIX. p. 197).

² Chevalier has committed an obvious error in describing Wiseman as *médecin* instead of *chirurgien*, but the statements noted in his diary do not pretend to have been derived from official sources, and a mistake of the kind is easily understood.

³ Calendar of the Clarendon Papers, vol. ii. p. 6 (see App. III. No. 7).

mentions in his "History of the Rebellion" that the Scottish Commissioners, besides making it a *sine quâ non* for the meeting that the King should not bring with him any chaplain of his own, insisted also that "His Majesty must not carry with him any one counsellor, nor any person who had ever served his father in the war against the Parliament."¹ The fact, therefore, of Wiseman accompanying King Charles II. to Breda affords a further confirmation of the belief previously expressed that Wiseman did not serve as a surgeon in any of the armies directly commanded by Charles I., but only in the Army of the West, under the nominal command of the Prince of Wales.

The King left Holland and commenced his voyage to Scotland in the month of June 1650. We know from Wiseman himself that he accompanied the King on this occasion. He is narrating, in one of his treatises, a case in which he removed a pistol bullet by making an opening through the palate bone into the posterior part of the nostrils for its extraction. "The patient," he writes, "had come to consult him at The Hague, in Holland, a little before His Majesty's going into Scotland;" and later on he writes, "My attendance upon His Majesty into Scotland hindering any prosecution of that cure, I left him in the hands of a chirurgeon there, and since have often seen him at Court."² And the first certain news of the King, after he had taken

¹ History of the Rebellion, Bk. xii. vol. vi. p. 399.

² *Op. cit.*, edit. 1676, Bk. vi. p. 418.

his departure for Scotland, which reached his friends left behind in Holland, seems to have been through a letter sent in the course of the voyage, on the 2nd (12th) of July, by Wiseman to his friend Trethewy at Utrecht (see App. III. No. 9).

There are abundant allusions in Wiseman's writings to the events in which King Charles II. was subsequently concerned—to the fighting at Stirling¹—the taking of Callander House²—the fight at Musselburgh³—at the castle of Dunbar⁴—to the Court at St. Johnston's⁵—to the march of the King's army

¹ "These great transverse wounds are not so often seen here in times of Peace, but in the Wars are frequent, especially when the Horse-men fall in among the Infantry. At Sterling Mr. Chace, the King's Apothecary, assisted me in the Dressing many such, and one with such a Gash thwart the nape of the Neck, as it was our wonder that he lived" (*Op. cit.*, edit. 1672, p. 28).

² "I have drest many that have been cut through the Skull, the shivers of bones and pasht flesh, and hair lying upon the Dura Mater" ("the Shivers of Bones lying pasht with the flesh and Hair upon the Dura Mater," edit. 1676.) "At Sterling Mr. John Chace was present when a poor Servant-maid came to me to be drest of a wound she had received in her head by a Musquet-shot in the taking of Calander-house. I set on a Trepan for the elevation of the deprest bone, &c. Mr. Penycuke an eminent Chirurgeon of that Nation did assist me in this work" (*Op. cit.*, edit. 1672, p. 132; edit. 1676, p. 401). Elsewhere Wiseman describes Mr. Penycuke as Surgeon-General of the Scottish army.

³ "Captain F. in Musselborough fight was shot in one of his fingers, and the next day was so grievously tormented that he walkt up and down like a Mad-man. Yet his pain was not so great in his Wound as in his Well fingers" (*Op. cit.*, edit. 1672, Part II. p. 50; edit. 1676, p. 429).

⁴ "A poor Souldier was shot at the Castle of Dunbar with a Musket-bullet a little above the left Clavicle, in amongst the muscles of the Scapula. The bullet was drawn out by one of my Servants, and the Wound drest up with Digestives" (*Op. cit.*, edit. 1676, p. 411).

⁵ "Whilst I attended the King at St. Johnston in Scotland," &c. "From the Defeat of the Scottish Army near Dunbar there came many of the wounded to Saint Johnston's," &c. (*Op. cit.*, edit. 1676, p. 436.) And Clarendon mentions that "the King resided, sometimes at Sterling,

from Scotland into England¹—and, lastly, to the battle of Worcester, where Wiseman was taken and sometimes at St. Johnston's, with commodity enough" (*Op. cit.*, vol. vi. p. 485).

The St. Johnston here mentioned is the city of Perth. Mr. Yellowlees, provost of Stirling (1890), has informed me that Perth for a long time entirely dropped its proper name, or rather was designated by the alternative name, long in popular use, of "St. John's Town," or "St. Johnstoun," St. John the Baptist being the patron saint of the Fair City, and that the house at St. Johnstoun in which Charles II. probably resided was the palace of the Earl of Gowrie. There is a historical record of the King having been entertained at this palace in 1663. One of the principal and most ancient buildings in Perth is the Church of St. John the Baptist, and the old seal of the city bore an impression of the decapitation of the saint.

¹ That Wiseman was with the King's army on its southward march from Scotland until it reached Worcester is confirmed by his references to two incidents that occurred at the time. The following is one of them. A nobleman whom Wiseman describes as a "Commander of Horse in that army that came out of Scotland into England" was accidentally thrown off his charger, and his shoulder was put out of joint. He would not allow himself to be raised off the ground till Wiseman was brought to him. As he was lying there, Wiseman, with the help of one of the surgeons of the Guards, whom he names, reduced the dislocation. The manner in which he effected the reduction, with the heel in the axilla, and by extension in certain given directions, he describes in detail. As soon as the bone was secured in its place by a compress of tow in the armpit and suitable bandages, the officer was removed to his quarters. The sequel was not very consoling to Wiseman's *amour propre* and consciousness of professional rectitude. He mentions that he visited the patient in his quarter the same evening, and, finding him free from fever and the shoulder easy, he took his leave, telling him the shoulder should not be disturbed for rebandaging till after a rest of six or seven days. Wiseman had done essential service to the officer by putting his arm-bone back into its proper place. He well knew the importance of temporary complete rest in order not to interfere with the repair of the injured structures connected with the joint, an importance which the commander that the accidents of life had placed in authority over him failed to appreciate. "But this person," writes Wiseman, "thought himself neglected, and complained to his superior officers of me;" and Wiseman adds, in his account of the case, evidently indignant at the recollection of having been subjected to unmerited censure, "Thus in an army we are frequently rewarded, if we do not attend them as their menial servants" (*Op. cit.*, edit. 1676, Bk. vii. ch. x. of "Luxation of the Shoulder," p. 489).

prisoner with many others,¹ and marched to Chester. It was the defeat of the King's forces at Worcester which finished Wiseman's career as an army surgeon. The King, as history shows, after many marvellous hairbreadth escapes managed to elude his pursuers and to get away, almost alone, from the coast of Sussex to the Continent. At the time of the King's escape Wiseman was still detained a prisoner at Chester. He was kept in detention there for many weeks, apparently till near the end of the year 1651. An incident mentioned below shows that during his imprisonment he was occasionally permitted by the Governor, Colonel Duckenfield, to exercise his professional skill.² At last, "having procured a Passe to come to London," Wiseman writes, "I hastened away." The haste alluded to referred, no doubt, to the speed with which he took advantage of the permission to quit Chester, for a passage in his book shows he did not

The next reference shows that he was with the army at the time it arrived at Worcester. He is describing a case of pistol-shot wound of the face inflicted on a townsman as the troops were marching into the city. The weapon was held close to the man's cheek, but under what aggravation or circumstances is not stated. Wiseman begins the account of the case thus: "At our entering into Worcester, when the King came out of Scotland with an army of that valiant People," &c. (*Op. cit.*, edit. 1672, Part II. p. 3; edit. 1676, p. 408).

¹ Dr. Frazier, the King's physician, was not taken prisoner. He escaped to Flanders (see App. No. XX.).

² Wiseman was sent by the Governor's order to see a patient at Chester who had been wounded in the elbow at the battle of Worcester six weeks before Wiseman's visit to him. This patient, "a substantial man," had laboured six weeks under great pain. His arm was in a hopeless state for repair, and, under these circumstances, he obtained leave from the Governor for Wiseman to attend him, and also to stay with him. Wiseman afterwards amputated this patient's arm, and attended him until exfoliation of some bone had taken place and the stump had become cicatrised (*Op. cit.*, edit. 1676, p. 454; edit. 1572, p. 97).

hurry very fast on his journey to London. He must have well known that he was not likely to receive a very hearty welcome at that time in the metropolis, excepting perhaps from a few friends who could only secretly manifest their goodwill to him. On his way he stayed a little time at Luffenham, a village not far from Peterborough.¹ He describes a case of dislocation which he attended while he was there. At last he reached London. It was early in the year 1651-2, probably in the month of February, certainly before the latter end of the month of March, but the particular date of his arrival has not been recorded. His Royalist friends on the Continent were in ignorance regarding his movements, and some of them seem to have been uneasy as to his fate. Richard Watson writing from Bruges, on February 20, 1652, to Mr. Edgeman, remarks, ". . . I wonder whether our poor brother Wiseman have obtained his libertie" (Calendar of Clarendon Papers, vol. ii. p. 121). Mr. Watson, who thus wrote, was chaplain to Lord Hopton, who was in command of the Royal troops in the West of England until they were disbanded in Cornwall, and who is mentioned by Chevalier as being in command of the troops forming the bodyguard of the Prince of Wales when he escaped from Scilly to Jersey. He was a brother-in-law of Mr. Edgeman,² private secretary to Sir Edward

¹ "In the year 1652, passing from Cheshire into the county of Rutland, taking North Luffenham in my way to London, I was desired there to visit a Freeholder," &c. (*Op. cit.*, edit. 1676, p. 185).

² See "Charles the Second in the Channel Islands," by S. Elliott Hoskins, M.D., F.R.S., Bentley, 1854, vol. i. note to p. 355.

Hyde, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and subsequently Lord Chancellor. Mr. Watson's letters show great interest in Wiseman's fate,¹ and his expressions evince a particular friendship for him. The intimacy between these two Royalists had probably grown up and been cemented during the campaign in the West, when they were both serving under Lord Hopton's command. Wiseman appears to have written rather often to Mr. Watson, and to have made him his chief correspondent at Court while King Charles II. was in exile on the Continent.

Shortly after Wiseman's arrival in London he obtained his freedom of the Company of Barber-Surgeons, and thus secured to himself the rights and privileges of a citizen of London. Mr. Sidney Young has ascertained that the date of his admission, "*per servitium*," was the 23rd of March 1651-2 (see App. II. No. 2). It was thus not till about fifteen or sixteen years after he had been bound as an apprentice that he took up his freedom in the Company, and this circumstance is in itself a proof that he had not previously been engaged in practice as a surgeon in London. There seems to be hardly any ground for doubting that he had no sooner completed the term of his apprenticeship, and qualified for practice, than he went abroad as a naval surgeon in the service of Holland, and that either he had not had the opportunity of becoming a freeman earlier

¹ See the extracts from Mr. Watson's letters in the Appendix, particularly Nos. 10 and 13 in App. III.

owing to his continued absence from London, or that he had not felt the need of getting the freedom for the pursuit of his calling in the service in which he was engaged. But now that he had in view to settle as a surgeon in the metropolis, it was essential for him at once to obtain the freedom of the Company in order to possess a legal right to practise his profession.

His first professional occupation was acting in the capacity of assistant to a surgeon of the name of Molins—"a most excellent chirurgeon," Wiseman calls him.¹ It was in this year that Cromwell, on his return to London from the signal defeat and great slaughter of the Royalist army at Worcester—Cromwell's "Crowning Mercy" of the war—re-constituted the High Court of Justice at Westminster Hall on the same plan and under the same arrangements as the court before which Charles I. had been tried and condemned. This court, and others like it in some of the provinces, were specially commissioned for the trial of officers who had been made prisoners at Worcester, and of any others who were discovered to have assisted Charles II. in his campaign in Scotland, or who had taken part against Cromwell and the Parliamentary army in England. Some of the principal officers and supporters of the Crown who were tried before this so-called court

¹ "In the year 1652, at my return to London from the Battel of Worcester, I somewhile assisted that most excellent Chirurgeon, the deceased Mr. Ed. Molins, in dressing his Patients," &c. (*Op. cit.*, edit. 1676, Bk. vii. ch. vi. p. 76). Elsewhere he describes him as "Mr. Ed. Molins, an excellent operator" (*Op. cit.*, Bk. iv. ch. vii. p. 329).

of justice at Westminster (which was more of the nature of a military tribunal or court-martial than a constitutionally established court of justice, and only justifiable on the plea that the whole country for the time being was under martial law) were condemned to death, and were executed. Wiseman escaped without having to undergo any severe punishment, notwithstanding the close intimacy that had existed between him and Charles II.; probably in part owing to the fact that the position he had held in relation to the King and in the army was not regarded as one of any political importance, and probably in part owing to his professional character and reputation. Wiseman, after his arrival in London, like other Royalist prisoners, had been placed under arrest, but had succeeded in obtaining his liberty under special bail or security for his appearance if he were required. He thus remained under the power of the law, and was liable at any moment while the bail lasted to be again arrested and placed under custody, or even, in case of infringing existing rules or taking part in seditious movements, to be imprisoned without further trial. Such a summary arrest and confinement did take place early in 1654. In August of 1652, the same year that Wiseman arrived in London, when there seems to have been some doubt as to whether he would remain in practice in England or would rejoin King Charles on the Continent, we find from a remark in a letter written to Sir Edward Hyde's secretary, Mr. Edgeman, that Wiseman had been making very great efforts

to be delivered from his bail, but, as circumstances show, without success (see App. III. No. 13, Letter from R. Watson to Edgeman, dated Bruges, August 29, 1652). Wiseman may have made, as many other Royalists at the time did, the authorised declaration and promise to accept the new order of things—the Commonwealth without King or House of Lords. There did not, indeed, at that date appear to be the least chance of his ever again having the opportunity of holding any appointment in the Royal service, for the republican form of government seemed to be fully established in the country, although some enthusiastic adherents of the Stuarts still clung to a belief that after a few years the monarchical system would be reverted to. It is certain, too, that during this and the following year Cromwell and the Parliament had their attention given to State affairs of vast importance—the establishment of satisfactory relations between the Commonwealth and the various monarchies on the Continent of Europe—and consequently had no time to give much heed to individuals who, whatever their private political sentiments might be, were powerless to cause trouble to the Government.

Whatever may have been the circumstances under which Wiseman was permitted to remain out on bail and to follow his profession in London, he appears to have soon given up his position of assistant to Mr. Molins, and to have taken a house and established himself in practice on his own account. There is evidence enough that his practice increased very

quickly in extent. In the month of June 1652—the year of his arrival in London—Mr. Watson, writing from Bruges to Lord Clarendon's secretary, Mr. Edgeman, alludes to Wiseman, who “hath practice enough to employ him in London,”¹ and Colonel Barkstead, Lieutenant of the Tower, writing in March 1654, says of Wiseman that ever since he had come to London, after having been taken prisoner at Worcester, he had been living “in the Old Bayley at the signe of the King's-head, in great practise.”² This success, however, was fated to be very rudely interrupted, and, it must be admitted, owing in a great degree to Wiseman's own imprudence.

Early in the year 1654, when Cromwell had concluded a treaty of peace with Holland after defeating the Dutch at sea, and had brought the two crowns of Spain and France to sue for his alliance, he turned his attention to home affairs, and, with a view to consolidating the strength of the new republic, according to Clarendon, prosecuted all those who had been on the King's side with the utmost rigour. “Upon every light rumour of a conspiracy he clapped up all those whom he thought fit to suspect into close prisons, and banished all those who had ever been in arms for the King from the cities of London and Westminster.”³ One of the

¹ Calendar of the Clarendon Papers, vol. ii. p. 139. (See Appendix III. No. 11.) Mr. Macray describes Mr. Watson as an intimate friend and correspondent of Edgeman's. As already stated, Dr. Hoskins has mentioned him as Edgeman's brother-in-law.

² See Appendix IV. No. 1.

³ Hist. of the Rebell., Bk. xiv., 1654.

persons who was brought into trouble under this condition of affairs was Wiseman. About a fortnight after Christmas,¹ according to Wiseman's own statement, he had been consulted by a Mr. James Read, a Royalist, on account of a sore leg. The sore was nearly healed when Read was arrested and committed to the Tower. Three or four days after he had been imprisoned there he sent a message by a warder named Steere to Wiseman asking him to come and see him as his leg had become worse, and required attention. Wiseman did not go on receiving this first message, nor on several subsequent messages being received to the same effect, but merely sent some plaisters to be applied to the sore. On the fourth day the warder came again and pressed him very earnestly to come, as Mr. Read was very ill. The warder had previously told Wiseman that there was no danger in his coming, that he had the Lieutenant's permission for his visit, and that it was a thing ordinarily done. Wiseman accordingly went on the following day to the Tower, and, having asked for the warder Steere, went with him and saw Mr. Read in his presence. While with him Read asked Wiseman to speak to Sir Thomas Mackworth about some money he owed him, and to keep it in his hands. An arrangement was come to for Wiseman to visit him every eighth or tenth day, dressings being left for use to the leg in the interval. Wise-

¹ Wiseman writes in his petition, after he had been imprisoned for a month at Lambeth, "about a fortnight before Christmas." This appears to have been an oversight—either his memory or pen being at fault.

man paid him similar visits three or four times. On a Sunday following the latest of his visits Wiseman was sent for by the Lieutenant of the Tower, and as he was on his way there, in Cannon Street, he met Lord Crayford's servant, who knew about his visiting the prisoner Read. This man, on hearing he was going to the Tower, told Wiseman he would be "held fast," for Read, whom he was in the habit of seeing, had been attempting to escape, and was in irons. Wiseman had sent some plaisters and pills by his servant to Read, but the Lieutenant in his interview with him accused him of having sent aqua fortis. It was probably surmised that this aqua fortis was intended to be employed in some way for facilitating the prisoner's escape. Wiseman's servant was examined, and apparently the result of the examination was satisfactory, for Wiseman was allowed to return to his house and continue his professional practice. On the 12th of March the Tower warder Steere came from Read to Wiseman again, and gave him a note which conveyed the important information that Steere was going to effect the prisoner Read's escape. Steere sought Wiseman's advice and assistance in the undertaking.

Wiseman, even by his own account of the affair, allowed himself to be caught in the trap that was laid for him by the keeper, who appears to have acted with the cognisance and with the assent of Colonel Barkstead, the Lieutenant of the Tower.¹

¹ Colonel Barkstead had sat as one of the judges of King Charles I., and had attached his signature to his death warrant. After the Restoration,

It was only natural that Wiseman should sympathise with Mr. Read, who appears to have been imprisoned solely on account of his political views, but in all probability he imprudently showed his readiness to help Steere in effecting the escape of the prisoner. To what extent he committed himself in this direction is doubtful, but he certainly committed himself so far that when the slight causes of a similar nature which brought other persons at this time to the severest punishment, and even to the scaffold, are remembered, it becomes very remarkable that the punishment inflicted on Wiseman was not more rigorous than it seems to have been.

There are two documents written by Wiseman regarding this affair preserved among the Thurloe papers. One in Dr. Birch's collection of the State papers of Thurloe is entitled "An information of Mr. Robert Wiseman concerning Mr. Read."¹ The other is a petition sent by Wiseman to Secretary Thurloe, and entitled "The case of Richard Wiseman, chirurgion, now prisoner in Lambeth house, truly stated."² This petition is printed *in extenso* in the Appendix. In the Appendix will also be found the copy of a letter by Colonel Barkstead to

in the year 1662, he was laid hold of while in Holland, brought to England, tried, and sentenced to death as one of the regicides. He was imprisoned in the Tower, and, on leaving for the place of execution, passed the house in which he had resided as the Lieutenant.

¹ See Birch's Thurloe Papers, vol. iii. p. 322. Robert Wiseman is printed in this heading by mistake for Richard Wiseman. Mr. Macray informs me that this heading does not exist in the original MS., which is simply endorsed, "An information concerning Mr. Read." The original MS. is in the Bodleian Library.

² Birch's Thurloe Papers, vol. iii. p. 407.

Secretary Thurloe, with some remarks concerning Wiseman, together with a copy of one of the letters written by the prisoner Read to Wiseman, which Colonel Barkstead at the same time forwarded to Thurloe.¹ It has not been thought necessary to append also Wiseman's "Information concerning Mr. Read," as the facts mentioned in it are the same as those mentioned in the "Petition," although differing in mode of description; but an extract from the "Information" here will sufficiently place before the reader Wiseman's report of the part taken by him in the alleged projected escape of Read from the Tower. Wiseman describes it as follows: "On the 12th of March, being tuesday, and then about one of the clock, coming home, my servant tould me that Steere, Mr. Read's keeper, was drincking att the Anchor, and desired to speake with mee, to whom I presently went and asked his business. Hee gave mee a note, which when I began to read, hee said itt desired privacy. I replyed, come to my house with mee and I will read itt, soe taking him into a usuall roome, I read the note, and was extreemly surprized, gave Steere the note againe and askt him if he was resolved to carry Mr. Read away. He answered, yes. I fell into passion, and askt him, why Mr. Read should send him to mee; I had no obligation to him at all; I had taken much paines in curing him, and was as yett unpaid; Mr. Read had already putt mee to much trouble; I would have nothings to doe with this; I would not

¹ Thurloe Papers, vol. iii. p. 218.

hazard my libertie for him. Steere then desired me to advise him: I asked Steere if hee apprehended no hazard in the attempting the escape. Hee tould mee, yes. I wisht him to have a care what hee did; for my parte he had frightened my senses with the very mention of itt. I could not tell what to advise; but if hee would come the next day at 12 o'clock, I would consider of itt and advise him. He said Steere asked, if I had no good newes to cheer him up with. I answered, yes; there is strange newes, if true; 'tis reported that Judge Rolls is taken prisoner at Salisbury, and the country is up. Do you heare nothing of it? Yes, replied hee. I replied, I will send him the £5 hee sends to mee for; and I praye you stirr not in the busines till you speake with mee to-morrowe. The said Steere prest me earnestly to write to Read. I denied him several tymes; yett at last tooke a little bit of paper lying by mee, and writ, as I remember, thus: Sir, those paines you complaine of will easily discusse, and soe will that pain in your head, without the taking any course of physick; and soe without setting my name to itt, I gave it him, telling him I had written something I knewe not what; yet was itt truth, and in answer to that part of his letter which concerned mee. Soe away goes Steere, leaving me to my considerations, which was these; that if Steere should carry away Read, I having been already suspected, 'twas tenne to one but the lieutenant would trouble me for itt. Againe, should they be taken in the attempt by Steere's or Read's confession, I should

be a partie, and soe again be troubled. If, on the other side, to free myselfe, I should discover their intentions to the lieutenant, it would cleare mee, but ruine my reputation amongst those of the royall partie, in whom my livelyhood consisted, to avoyd which I resolved upon a thirde way, which was, that Mr. Steere should with good languadge cheere him, and soe lett the lawe take its course. And this I told Steere when hee came the next day; and withall forbidde him my house, telling him, I would have nothing to doe with it; and that when I had a desire to speake with him, I would send for him to bidde him farewell. This impudent fellow presses me to write a word or twoe to Read; that otherwise Read would not beleieve hee had been with mee; upon which I called for a peece of emplayster, and writt upon a bitt of paper thus: Sir, this peice of emplayster will, I hope, finish the cure, and soe I shall not trouble you further. I am your servant, R. Wiseman. In this paper I rowled up the emplayster, and soe sent him packing; and I take God to witnes this is all I ever writt to Mr. Read during his imprisonment; and that night when I thought myselfe freest, was I fetched to the Tower out of my bedde betwixt twelve and one at night, and my house searched for armes and letters; but of those I was as innocent as of the former."

The letter alluded to by Wiseman in his declaration is evidently the letter from Read, of which a transcript was sent by the Lieutenant of the Tower to Secretary Thurloe. A copy of this letter will be

found in the Appendix. It is beyond doubt that the letter was written by Mr. Read to Wiseman on March the 13th, and it is equally clear that Wiseman's reply was taken back by the warder to Mr. Read early in the afternoon of the same day. Copies of the two letters were taken at the Tower, and were forwarded to Thurloe on the following day, March the 14th. According to Colonel Barkstead's statement, both the prisoner Read's letter and Wiseman's reply bore the date of February the 13th, and although the fact of the true date being March the 13th was pointed out to Mr. Read, he only remarked that there was no mistake in it—it was ante-dated intentionally. The inference is that there was some hidden allusion in the earlier dates given, the meaning of which was known both to Wiseman and his correspondent. The remark on the disease in the head which was to be cured without going through a course of physic also had some secret import; it may well have been an allusion to Read's projected escape from the Tower, and the avoidance by that means of the risk he was lying under of losing his head as a criminal. The only further record regarding the prisoner Read is that he obtained his liberty in May 1656. He was allowed to leave England on good security not to return to the country.¹

It is seen from Wiseman's own statements that it was in consequence of the reports made by the warder to the Lieutenant of the Tower respecting his interviews with Wiseman, and the suspicious allusions

¹ Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, May 13th, 1656.

in the correspondence between Wiseman and Mr. Read which the warder had shown to the Lieutenant, that he was arrested. He was detained in the Tower until instructions conveying the decision of the Lord Protector on the case were received from Mr. Secretary Thurloe. The immediate result was the imprisonment of Wiseman in Lambeth House. He had been imprisoned there about a month when he forwarded the petition to Secretary Thurloe which will be found in the Appendix. In this petition, while reiterating many of the statements he had made in his previous declaration, he prays for his release, offering to give security that he will be ready to answer any crime that can be legally proved against him, and promising that he will do nothing to the prejudice of the public interests.

During the time he was imprisoned at Lambeth House¹ he was allowed to have a certain amount of liberty within the walls under the surveillance of a keeper, just as he had had while he was a prisoner

¹ The venerable pile of buildings, known collectively at present under the name of "Lambeth Palace," has received various names at different periods of history. "Lambeth House" was the usual name at the time Wiseman lived. During the Civil Wars it ceased to be an Archiepiscopal residence. Its history at this period is interesting. Archbishop Laud, who had been living there, was impeached by the House of Commons in February 1641, and committed to the Tower. He remained a prisoner there for three years before he was tried and sentenced to death. Shortly after his imprisonment his books and property at Lambeth House were seized and sold. In the autumn of 1642 the building was occupied by troops, and shortly afterwards the House of Commons voted that it should be made a prison, and appointed a head keeper. Later on, in 1648, Lambeth House and manor were put up for sale, and were purchased by Matthew Hardyng and Thomas Scott. Scott, who was Secretary of State under Cromwell, and who had

at Chester. His writings show that he was even permitted to see a patient and to join in a professional consultation while still in confinement there.¹

At what precise date he was released from imprisonment, and on what terms he regained his liberty, is not recorded. It would seem from an observation of his own that he was not set free merely on the expiration of a period of confinement to which he had been sentenced, but that his freedom was procured through the intercession of some friends, who probably became answerable, under pecuniary liabilities, for his submission and obedience to the political order of things then established.

There seems to be no ground for doubting that it was between this affair and the event of the Restoration that Wiseman passed his time in the Spanish navy, but it is very difficult to fix particular dates for this service. There would have been nothing surprising if Wiseman on being allowed to leave

sat as one of the judges and had signed the death warrant of Charles I., was himself executed at Charing Cross in 1660.

I have examined some of the records in the library of Lambeth Palace with the assistance of Mr. Kershaw, the librarian, but have failed to trace any facts relating to the imprisonment of Wiseman or of any of the political prisoners who were confined there at the same period. The names of certain noblemen and of others holding conspicuous positions in society at the time, who were imprisoned in Lambeth House on account of their political opinions and acts are known, but no particulars of their imprisonment appear to have been placed on record, or are, at least, preserved.

¹ "I being then imprisoned by the Fanaticks in Lambeth House." . . . "He [the patient] returned somewhat satisfied, and the next day sent for two eminent physicians, and procured leave for me of my Keeper to meet them." . . . "Whilst the ulcers were thus disposing to Cure, my liberty was procured, and I again attended the Patient" (*Op. cit.*, edit. 1676, Bk. vii. ch. xiv. pp. 54, 55).

Lambeth House had been banished from London for a term of years, as happened to many others at this period, and that under these circumstances he had taken service in the Spanish navy. In the petition sent by him from his place of confinement he said his practice as a surgeon was ruined for a time, and, marked as he was as a suspected intriguer against the administration of affairs and the ruler of the State, his continued residence in London was not likely to be very pleasant or profitable. Wiseman might well, therefore, have been willing to take advantage of an opportunity of obtaining a naval appointment and resuming practice at sea, with which his early life had rendered him familiar. But if Wiseman's recollections of events and dates when he wrote his folio volume of treatises in 1676 can be trusted, the references he makes in giving the history of one of the cases recorded in his book show that he did not leave London for at least a period of two years subsequent to his release from Lambeth prison.

Wiseman, in alluding to his release from imprisonment at Lambeth, merely states that "his liberty was procured," without reference to any restraint upon it by bail or otherwise. But if he had been quite free to quit his native country it might well be supposed that he would have made some efforts to rejoin his former master, the exiled King, on the Continent. He does not appear to have done this. He may have been still under the restrictions imposed on him when he first settled in London after his release from Chester, and his sureties may have still been

responsible for his appearance whenever required under pecuniary penalties ; or, if free from such restraints, he may have been well aware that a return to the King's service was no longer practicable.

Some of the reasons which militated against the feasibility of his return to Court at this time may easily be surmised. The King while at Paris was very poor, deeply in debt¹ indeed, and without any immediate prospect of having pecuniary resources at his command. Even for his own personal expenses he was dependent on the bounty of his Dutch relatives and the French Government, while the supplies he derived from these sources were always scanty and frequently withheld altogether. In the early part of the year 1654, Cromwell, having completely conquered the Dutch at sea, forced them, among other conditions, to consent that neither Charles II. nor

¹ It is rather difficult to realise fully the state of penury to which King Charles, and the members of his Court who continued in his service, were reduced about this time. On Christmas Eve, 1652, Sir Ed. Hyde, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, writing to Sir Richard Browne from Paris, remarks : "You will believe our necessities to be importunate enough, which would be more insupportable, if we did not see the King himself reduced to greater distresse than you can believe or imagine." (See *Diary and Correspondence of Evelyn*, edit. 1857, vol. iv. p. 256.) In June 1653 Sir E. Hyde writes to Sir Ed. Nicholas, Secretary of State : "I am sure the King himself owes for all he hath eaten since April ; and I am not acquainted with one servant of his who hath a pistole in his pocket. Five or six of us eat together one meal a day, for a pistole a week ; but all of us owe for God knows how many weeks to the poor woman that feeds us." (*Clarendon's State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 174.) In November he writes : "I have neither clothes nor fire to preserve me from the sharpness of the season. I am so cold that I am scarce able to hold my pen, and have not three sous in the world to buy a faggot." (*Ibid.*, vol. iii. pp. 112, 126.)

any of the King's party should be allowed to reside in Holland. The King, who was no longer in this year an acceptable visitor in France, owing to the state of subjection to which that country had also been then brought by Cromwell, and who felt himself forced by the circumstances in which he was placed to quit Paris, was not able to return to The Hague in consequence of the conditions imposed upon Holland by the Government of the Commonwealth, and had to find a refuge in Germany. On leaving France the King had to reduce his establishment to the very lowest limits, and the return of Wiseman was not at that time likely to be a desired addition to it. During Wiseman's long absence, now about three years, many changes had taken place among the officers and others by whom the King was attended, and one of these seems to have been that another surgeon, by name Bolen, had been engaged in Wiseman's place. We learn from a remark in a letter dated Wesel, 29th July 1653, from Mr. Watson to Edgeman, preserved among the Clarendon Papers, that there had been some thought about Wiseman returning to Court in the summer of the year prior to Wiseman's affair with Mr. Read and consequent imprisonment, but that his presence at Court was not regarded as holding out a prospect of such advantages to him as the position had formerly yielded. The place he had occupied had necessarily been filled up in his absence. "It will be some discouragement to Wiseman," writes Mr. Watson, "to return to Court if he hear that J.

Bolen has forestalled his practice.”¹ Nothing more is heard about Wiseman rejoining the King on the Continent, while such casual observations as are met with in Wiseman’s writings, joined with the known course of the events of his life on which there is positive information, seem to point distinctly to the fact that there was no effort made by the King, in the interval between the expiry of Wiseman’s term of imprisonment at Lambeth and the termination of the King’s Continental exile, to replace Wiseman in his former position at Court.

It was in the same year as that of Wiseman’s imprisonment, viz. 1654, that the alleged plot to assassinate Cromwell occurred which led to the execution of two of the suspected conspirators, Mr. John Gerrard, and Mr. Vowel, a schoolmaster. Among the persons tried “for holding correspondence with Charles Stuart, and for having a design upon the Protector’s life, to seize upon the Tower, and to proclaim the King,” was a Royalist named Wiseman. Secretary Thurloe, in a letter dated Whitehall, 10th June 1654, to Dr. Pell, the Resident Ambassador with the Swiss Cantons, writes: “There has been a devilish plot against the Protector to murder him. It was laid by the old Cavalier party. Those taken are Sir Gilbert Gerard of Worcester—always a Cavalier—John Gerard, and Charles Gerard, his brothers; Mr. Vowell, &c. . . . Sir Richard Willis is likewise in the Tower, as is also one Wiseman, of Westminster, deeply in the

¹ Calendar of the Clarendon Papers, vol. ii. p. 232.

design, &c.”¹ The Christian name of this Wiseman is not recorded in the historical accounts of the conspiracy, but on reference to the “Collection of State Trials,” he is mentioned in one place as John Wiseman, and thus the fact of it not having been Richard Wiseman the surgeon who was involved in this conspiracy is fully confirmed. According to a statement made at one of the trials, Colonel Gerard was engaged to provide twenty-five men for the enterprise, and Major Henshaw five men.² One of these five men was Wiseman. There is a note as to a relationship existing between Henshaw and Wiseman to the following effect, “Whom the said Wiseman calleth brother by some relation;” and in the Clarendon Papers John Wiseman is alluded to as Henshaw’s half-brother. It admits of

¹ See “The Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell,” &c., in 2 vols., by Robt. Vaughan, D.D., Lond., Colburn, 1838, vol. i. p. 11, where Thurloe’s letter is given in full. And again, in the “History of Antiquities of the Tower of London,” &c., by J. Bayley, F.R.S., 2nd edit., Lond., 1830, p. 583, is the following reference to this plot in which Wiseman’s name occurs: “In 1654, a plot said to be formed against the Protector’s life, was made a ground for filling the Tower with persons who were suspected of being adverse to the usurper’s cause. Among these were Colonels Sir Gilbert and John Gerrard, Charles Gerrard, Vowel, a schoolmaster, the Earl of Oxford, Philip Porter, Finch, Wiseman, Bayley, and Sir Rd. Willis.” John Wiseman is suspected of having turned King’s evidence on the trial. He was set at liberty from the Tower in September of the same year. See Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1654, p. 354, Sept. 1st.

² See Cobbet’s Collection of State Trials, vol. v. p. 518, *et seqq.*

Lord Clarendon, in his History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars, states that both Mr. Gerard and Mr. Vowel died with the greatest magnanimity, denying to the last that they had been concerned in any plot against the Protector’s life, though acknowledging themselves partisans of the King. Mr. Gerard had served as an ensign in the King’s army. (*Op. cit.*, Bk. xiv. vol. vii. p. 87.)

doubt whether the letter of King Charles II. to Wiseman, copied by Sir E. Hyde in May 1654 (see No. 15 in Appendix III.), was not written to this John Wiseman instead of to Richard Wiseman the surgeon, and whether the "partner" mentioned in it was not the half-brother, Major Henshaw. No sure clue, however, is forthcoming by which the doubt can be solved, but the style and matter of the letter seem more appropriate for it having been addressed to Wiseman the politician rather than to Wiseman the surgeon.

The remarks made by Wiseman, which tend to prove that he remained in London for at least two or three years after his release from Lambeth, occur casually in two of his observations,¹ both of which, however, have reference to the case of the same patient. The history of the patient's disease and its treatment are given at considerable length in Wiseman's eighth treatise, but the leading points connected with the subject in question are the following. The patient, who is described as being "of a full body and strong constitution," and who, from the narration, must have been a man in a good social position but of very dissolute and reckless habits, was several times under Wiseman's care for *lues venerea* in various forms. Wiseman had cured him of nodes and other manifestations of the disease, when, after a lapse of six months, he came to him suffering from ulcers of the throat. Wiseman attri-

¹ *Op. cit.*, edit. 1676, Bk. vii. ch. iv. Obs. 53, p. 44, and Obs. 69, p. 54.

buted these sores to the same origin, and desired to treat them in accordance with this view. The patient, however, would not be confined within doors, nor would he take any other physic than a decoction of sarsaparilla and a few antimonial powders. "Three quarts of the foresaid diet-drink," Wiseman writes, "were allowed him daily. I have sometime seen him drink it up in a Morning as fast as if it had been *Tunbridge* waters. I once enquiring the reason why he drank it in such haste, he replied, he was to dine with some good Fellows, and that he did it to make way for better liquor."

It can be no matter of surprise that under a temper and conditions such as these the ulcerations increased, and that other results followed which at last compelled the sick man to submit to proper regimen and treatment. Eventually a cure was apparently effected, and Wiseman writes, "I took leave of him, and saw him no more in half a year; but about that time he became more extremely diseased."

Wiseman was now a prisoner in Lambeth House, so the patient at first consulted other surgeons; but, Wiseman writes, "came afterwards to me, desiring my opinion of his Disease." He describes his condition, which in some directions presented a very serious and threatening aspect. However, after their conversation, Wiseman says "he returned somewhat satisfied, and the next day sent for two eminent Physicians, and procured leave for me of my Keeper to meet them." A course of mercurial treatment with other

remedies was agreed upon, and this course being put into practice, the sores assumed a more favourable character. "Whilst the Ulcers were thus disposing to Cure," writes Wiseman, "my liberty was procured, and I again attended the Patient," and he afterwards states, "I continued him a Month in this Course, and being then satisfied that he was well Cured, and secured from further relapse, the Physicians were sent for, and saw the several Ulcers cicatrized," &c. Wiseman mentions that the patient subsequently went into the country and resided there for two years, and at the end of that time returned to London and visited him again.

The circumstances related in the account of the case just quoted seem to leave no doubt about Wiseman having remained in London for a period of two years at least after he was released from his confinement at Lambeth, and elsewhere there is evidence afforded by another observation that he was in England at some time in the year 1657.¹ It seems to follow that his service in the Spanish navy must have been subsequent to these dates, between 1657 and the year 1660, when Charles II. returned to his kingdom. It is difficult to surmise why he should have left England to serve abroad after having continued so long in London, even though the form of Government and the course of events might have been very distasteful to him, and it is very disappointing that no positive informa-

¹ "In the year 1657, whilst I was riding to a Noble Family in the North," &c. (*Op. cit.*, edit. 1676, Bk. vii. ch. v. p. 489).

tion can be found on the subject. It seems, however, hardly possible he could have spent three years in the Spanish service in an earlier part of his career.

The political relations between England and Spain, prior to Wiseman's entrance on active service in the field in 1644, were not such as to render it probable that he would have been employed during any part of that time in the Spanish service, and the fact that the English nation openly sympathised with the Dutch in the successive wars which took place between Holland and Spain during that period adds to the improbability.¹ Moreover, the manner in which he was occupied up to the time of his military service in the West of England, during his subsequent attendance on the Prince of Wales, and when he took up his residence in London after the events consequent on the battle of Worcester, seems to be fully accounted for and explained by adequate evidence, so that the conclusion becomes almost inevitable that his service in the Spanish navy took place at a later date than his employment in the army. The fact that he remained in London from the time of his arrival in the metropolis, after receiving permission to quit Chester, until he became mixed up with the affairs of the State prisoner Read, is attested by Colonel Barkstead in his report on this alleged intrigue to Secretary Thurloe. It follows as a necessary consequence that Wiseman's service in the Spanish navy was subsequent to this affair, and

¹ The victories of the Dutch Admiral Van Tromp over the Spaniards took place about this period. Two Spanish fleets were beaten by him off the Downs in the year 1639.

the proofs, just now adduced, that Wiseman remained at least two years in London after his punishment for this offence had expired, seem to place beyond doubt that he was not employed in the service of Spain until after the year 1656-57. His imprisonment, together with the circumstances which led to it, must have materially interfered with his prospects of attaining a remunerative practice in London in the altered state of society under the rule of the Commonwealth, and his going away for a time, if a fitting occasion occurred, may be readily understood. His taking employment in the Spanish service would be quite in accord with what many English Royalist officers had been, and were still doing, about this time.¹ International transfer of military service, by land as well as by sea, seems to have been very common in those days. Cromwell, in the year 1650, made a public declaration that full liberty and authority were accorded to officers who had been serving during the fighting in Ireland, "and to all other persons whatsoever," to raise and transport men for the service of any foreign princes with whom they could make profitable conditions. He gave notice to the Spanish and French ministers and agents in London of the liberty he had thus publicly granted. And Clarendon² mentions, in his

¹ It is a well-known historical fact that Ascham, when he was sent as ambassador to represent the Commonwealth at Madrid, was assassinated shortly after his arrival there by a band of Royalist English officers who had served in the Spanish army against Portugal and in Calabria.

² History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars, Oxford, 1839, vol. vi. Bk. xii. p. 426.

“History of the Rebellion,” that many officers who had served the King, and who had remained in London in great poverty and want, made conditions for raising and taking regiments into Spain, while other English officers, who were already in Spain, joined in such undertakings. It can be readily understood that the feelings of most Royalists would be in harmony with the ideas which prevailed under the Spanish monarchy, and although as early as the year 1653 a treaty of concord existed between Spain and the Government of the Commonwealth, there can be little doubt that the feelings of friendship between the two Governments were by no means very cordial. A quarrel between the Commonwealth and Spain was, indeed, beginning to arise at this period, and not long afterwards it grew into a complete rupture. In October 1654 General Penn was commissioned as commander-in-chief of a fleet which was to attack the possessions of the King of Spain in the West Indies, and this fleet, which sailed from Spithead on Christmas day of the same year, was at Barbadoes at the end of January. In May 1655 Jamaica was taken, and although active hostilities against Spain in the West Indies seem to have ceased about this time, naval engagements with Spanish fleets took place in 1656 and 1657 under Admiral Blake, and Dunkirk was taken from the Spanish only two months before the death of Cromwell in 1658. As the rupture between the Commonwealth and Spain had grown wider, in the same proportion a closer sympathy had been evinced

between the Court of Madrid and the Royalists, until at last, as history shows, the Spanish King had openly espoused the cause of Charles II. against Cromwell. That Wiseman, therefore, with his professional practice damaged by the effects of his imprisonment at Lambeth, ill at ease under the republican ascendancy, and probably without sufficient pecuniary resources at his disposal for his needs, should have taken advantage of an opportunity of employment in the service of the King of Spain is, from every point of view, from sympathy with the monarchical form of the government of the country, from the friendliness of Spain towards the Royalists of England, and from his old associations with a sea life, as well as from motives of private interest, a very probable occurrence. As a surgeon of established reputation, who had already had considerable experience in naval warfare, he would find no difficulty in obtaining, through the Spanish Minister, the appointment of a naval surgeon in the Spanish service. He could easily have procured recommendations, if necessary, for such a post from some of his friends or members of the Council in attendance on his exiled King, if not from the King himself.

Wiseman was probably serving on board a Spanish vessel in the West Indies during part of the time when hostilities were in progress between Cromwell's Government and Spain. He alludes to instances of disease among the sailors whom he attended, which had been contracted from negro women with whom

the men consorted. It would almost appear, from the manner in which he refers to his service in the Spanish navy, as if a great part of his time, while employed in that service, had been passed abroad on a tropical station. He is pointing out that persons of sound and firm constitutions frequently escape from contracting disease although they are exposed to infection, when others fall victims, and then he observes, "of which I have seen the frequent experiment during the three years I served in the King of Spain's navy, where our mariners as soon as their pockets were full of money would be getting ashore to the Negroes and others that usually attended their landing."¹ This passage quite proves that, according to Wiseman's recollection in 1676, he had spent three years in the Spanish navy.² He may, indeed, have entered into an engagement at starting for a period of three years' duration, or, having taken service early in the year 1656-57, he may, at the end of a period approaching three years, have found the return of the King to England a settled matter, and then have obtained permission to resign his appointment in order to return to his own country. This seems more probable, but it is quite possible that his engagement was fixed for three years, as he may have had the ex-

¹ *Op. cit.*, edit. 1676, Bk. vii. ch. i. p. 3.

² Although Wiseman writes in 1676 of having served three years in the King of Spain's navy, he may not have intended it as a precise statement of time; if his service had lasted between two and three years, he might well have described it, when alluding to it sixteen or seventeen years afterwards, as a period of three years' service.

pectation, which many Royalists had at the time he entered upon it, that at the expiration of that period the Republic would have so completely lost ground in public favour, a return of the Monarchy would be close at hand, when he would be able to resume practice in London under favourable conditions.

Wiseman mentions scarcely any particular cases in his surgical treatises that can be plainly shown to have been under his care during the time passed by him in the Spanish navy, but it seems quite clear that the following incident must have occurred while he was so engaged. The story also serves to show how the same hostile feelings engendered by differences in matters of faith, which on a large scale had been and were still leading to wars among some of the nations of Europe, could be aroused and become the source of savagery even between two drunken sailors. Wiseman is treating on wounds of the face¹ from cutting instruments. "Whilst I served among the Dunkirkers,"² he writes, "where *Snick and Snee*³ was, as it were, a fashion, I had much of this kind of work." He then relates how, whilst the squadron to which his

¹ *Op. cit.*, edit. 1672, ch. vi., "On Wounds of the Face," pp. 59, 60, and edit. 1676, p. 362.

² Dunkirk at this period was a Spanish possession, and so remained until the year 1658, when it came under the dominion of Cromwell. It continued to be under English rule until Charles II., shortly after the Restoration, sold it to France.

³ *Snick and snee*, a combat with knives, according to Johnson's dictionary. The passage from Wiseman above quoted is given in the dictionary as an example of this signification. The expression was no doubt a Dutch one, derived from *snijden*, to cut, and *suede*, to gash with a sharp-edged instrument.

ship belonged was riding at anchor in the Groine, some Hollanders from Hamburg came in with three ships for the King of Spain. A boatswain belonging to one of these ships happened to be in the company of some of the men of Wiseman's squadron. They were drinking together on shore. After a little drink, this Hollander, Wiseman relates, began to prate of religion, and upbraided one of the Dunkirkers for wearing a cross. In a little while, growing more heated from the effects of his potations, he became quarrelsome. After frequent repetition, with curses, that "he would not wear a Cross, no, the Devill take him, one of our men beat him down, and fell with him, then, kneeling upon his breast, and holding his Head down, he drew out a knife sticking in his Sash and cut him from the Ear down towards the Mouth, then from under the Eye from that Cheek-bone to the nether Jaw"¹ (in other words, across the cheek to the angle of the jaw behind, the one slanting cut crossing the other slanting cut). "'Now,' said he, '*you shall wear a Cross, that the Devill do not carry you away.*'"

Wiseman was in an adjoining house at the time this happened, and being equally with the slashed Hamburger a follower of the reformed faith, he was sent for, "as a friend to the Cause," to help his co-religionist. He describes the manner in which he stitched up the wounds so as to bring their edges evenly and closely together, the dressings he applied, the mode of feeding so as to prevent inter-

¹ "Then from the *Os zygoma* to the neather Jaw," edit. 1676.

ference with the healing process, and all the treatment followed until the cure was completed. He seems to have succeeded in getting the long incisions united in a very short time, and so evenly that no disfigurement beyond some slight traces of them resulted from the wounds to which the man had been subjected. "The Patient was well pleased with his cure, though there remained some marks of the Cross," Wiseman relates. He adds that some people of the kind wear the scars of similar wounds on their faces with much pride, regarding them as so many marks of their courage. I have not noticed a description of any other case which is plainly shown to have taken place while Wiseman was serving under the Spanish flag; his observations of cases are usually given without references to the time or places at which they occurred.

Shortly after the expiration of his three years' service in the Spanish navy, probably toward the early part of the year 1660, he seems to have returned to his house in the city, in the neighbourhood of the Old Bailey. There are many allusions in his treatises to professional occurrences which happened during his residence in this situation. How long he continued to practise in the Old Bailey is not recorded, but he was certainly in practice there at the time of the return of Charles II. and his Court to London.¹ After a time, probably no long time

¹ "One morning Mr. Faucett, Chirurgion to His Royal Highnesse, sent to my house, when I lived in the Old Baily," &c. (*Op. cit.*, edit. 1676, p. 489).

after the restoration of the Monarchy, he moved, as so many other eminent surgeons have since done, westward, to a newer as well as a more open and healthier neighbourhood. This was Covent Garden, or, as he calls it, Convent Garden,¹ then recently built, and forming part of the outskirts of London in that direction. Here he resided and practised his profession until the time of his decease.

Charles II. entered London as King of England on the 29th of May 1660, the anniversary of his birthday, and the favourable relations which existed between the restored monarch and Wiseman are sufficiently proved by the fact that Wiseman was almost immediately appointed one of the King's personal surgeons. A document is preserved among the Lord Chamberlain's records in the Public Record

¹ "Another, about 7 years of age, was brought out of the country to me, and lodged near me in Convent Garden," &c. (*Op. cit.*, edit. 1676, p. 297).

Covent Garden originally derived its name from the circumstance of its locality; it had previously been the garden of St. Peter's Convent. The square, now occupied by Covent Garden market, is stated to have been laid out as a recreation ground in 1633. The houses flanking the square were of large size, with handsome fronts. Two or three of them still remain, though divided into separate tenements and otherwise altered. The famous piazza which exists on the north side was designed by Inigo Jones, the celebrated architect, and was erected under his directions. The name of St. Peter's is preserved in St. Peter's Hospital for Stone in Henrietta Street near the church. Covent Garden and St. Martin's in the Fields formed the extreme limits of this part of London in Wiseman's time; beyond were gardens and open fields, and some few scattered country houses, with Harrow-on-the-Hill in the distance to the north, and the detached hamlets of Hampstead and Highgate to the north-east on their respective hills. A well-known panoramic view of London, done in the year 1616 by Visscher, has been frequently engraved, and exhibits the state of the country beyond Covent Garden with great clearness.

Office, which gives the date of Wiseman's appointment as "Surgeon in Ordinary for the Person." It is the 8th of June 1660, ten days, therefore, after the King's arrival in the Metropolis. Wiseman retained this post for some years.

The appointment of Surgeon in Ordinary on the date above mentioned seems to have been due to the personal intervention of the King and out of the ordinary course. Wiseman must have been supernumerary to the regular establishment for about fourteen months, for on the 5th August of the following year, 1661, the appointment of King's Surgeon was formally granted by royal warrant to Wiseman, on a vacancy occurring through the death of King's Surgeon Michael Andrews. The warrant included the usual salary of £40 a year. A grant of an annuity, or pension, of £150 a year had been conferred on Wiseman in the previous month of June of the same year. (See App. I. No. 3.)

Wiseman would probably have received the higher official position of Sergeant-Surgeon to the King had there been an opportunity of conferring it on him. But there were three surgeons who were held to have prior and stronger claims than Wiseman to the appointment of Sergeant-Surgeon. The names of these surgeons were Richard Pyle, whose attendance on the King, when Prince of Wales, in the West of England and Jersey, has been already alluded to, John Knight, and Humphrey Painter. Richard Pyle mentions the fact in a petition presented to the King after his restoration that he

had been made a Sergeant-Surgeon many years previously. His claims seem to have been overlooked at first, for in this petition he brings to the King's notice that the office of Sergeant-Surgeon descends to him by right, he having been sworn in as Sergeant-Surgeon to the late King, Charles I., eighteen years previously. There seems to be no reason for doubting that Surgeons Painter and Knight had also held Court appointments as Surgeons of the Household in the reign of Charles I., although they had probably not been advanced to the position of Sergeant-Surgeons, as it is known that William Clowes, one of the Sergeant-Surgeons of Charles I., did not die until the year 1648.¹ I have not met with any record, however, in which the posts held by Surgeons Painter and Knight under Charles I. are precisely stated. All the three surgeons just named, Surgeons Pile, Knight, and Painter, appear to have regarded the appointment of Wiseman as Surgeon to the Person with jealousy, and to have advanced their former services as establishing a priority of claim for consideration. Their claims were eventually acknowledged,

¹ Sergeant-Surgeon William Clowes, who received his appointment at the time of the accession of Charles I., was the son and apprentice of William Clowes, surgeon to Queen Elizabeth and to James I. William Clowes, junior, obtained the sergeant-surgeoncy at a comparatively early period of life, when he was about forty-five years of age, doubtless in a great measure owing to the Court influence of his father. It is not improbable that Richard Pile also was indebted for his position in the household of Charles I., and subsequently of Charles II., to the same family influence, for it appears that he married Catherine Clowes, a niece of the Sergeant-Surgeon. Sergeant-Surgeon Clowes was twice Master of the Barber-Surgeons' Company, in 1626 and 1638, and died A.D. 1648. (See genealogy of the Clowes family, *Annals of the Barber-Surgeons' Company*, p. 537.)

and the appointments of all three as Principal Surgeons and Sergeant-Surgeons¹ were officially announced in the course of the year 1661. Humphrey Painter seems to have had his sergeant-surgeoncy conferred before his two colleagues, for Mr. Pyle accuses him of having obtained it surreptitiously. In the end Richard Pyle was appointed "First Principal Surgeon." He reminds the King in his petition that he had not only been Sergeant-Surgeon to Charles I., but also had served His Majesty himself "in England and beyond seas, till sent by him from Jersey to England." It is historically recorded that while the Prince of Wales remained in Jersey, after his escape from Cornwall and Scilly, secret messages were sent from time to time from Jersey to England to inform the King on matters concerning the Prince, and it is just probable that Surgeon Pyle, as a safe messenger, and from being known to Charles I., may have been sent to England by the Prince on one of these errands. So far as evidence on the subject, however, is forthcoming, it seems rather to be indicated that he was sent from Jersey by the Prince in consequence of Wiseman's attendance as surgeon being regarded as more desirable.

Early in the year 1672 Sergeant-Surgeon Humphrey Painter died, and as soon as this event occurred, Wiseman, in addition to retaining the personal surgeoncy, was promoted to the grade of

¹ The posts of Sergeant-Surgeon and Principal Surgeon seem to have been associated and conferred together in all these three instances, as they were subsequently in the case of Wiseman.

Principal Surgeon and Sergeant-Surgeon. The warrant conferring this appointment was dated February 15th, 1671-2, and on the 25th of the following month Wiseman was duly sworn into the office. The three Sergeant-Surgeons then became Richard Pyle, First Sergeant-Surgeon, John Knight, and Richard Wiseman. In February 1674-5 the pension of £150 a year, accorded to Wiseman in 1661, was renewed, with the statement that it was a pension "for life."¹ It was ordered that it should commence from the 25th of March 1671-2, the day on which he was sworn in as Sergeant-Surgeon.² In the royal warrant for the grant of this pension Wiseman is styled "Our principall Chirurgion and our Sergeant-Chirurgion." These warrants are preserved among the Home Office Records in the Public Record Office. (See App. I. No. 7.) As one of the functions of the Sergeant-Surgeons of former days was to attend on kings when they took the field in time of war, Wiseman's appointment, though late in date, was a very appropriate one.³ That he did not get the appointment earlier was entirely due to

¹ It will be seen that Wiseman did not long survive to draw this pension.

² The 25th of March 1671 was the last day of the year according to the mode of computation in Wiseman's time, so that his pension, according to the warrant, would commence from the first day of the year 1672.

³ The appointment of Sergeant-Surgeon to the Sovereign has not, for a long time past, been given to military surgeons who had done service in the field, as in old days. It is now usually bestowed on some eminent civil surgeon who has rendered personal service to the sovereign or to some member of the royal family. Military surgeons naturally regret the departure from the old usage. The number of "Serjeant-Surgeons to the Queen" is at the present date (May 1891) two; they are Sir James Paget Bart., and Sir Prescott Hewett, Bart.

the fact that they were restricted to a fixed number, and that this number was complete until the death of Sergeant-Surgeon Painter, to whose vacancy Wiseman succeeded.

Of the three sergeant-surgeons just named, Sergeant Knight appears to have been the most actively employed, especially in matters concerning the Royal Navy. He was holding a conspicuous position as a naval surgeon at the time of the Restoration, for he is mentioned by Sir Edward Walker, Garter-king-at-arms at that time, among those who attended upon King Charles II. on his voyage from the Hague to Dover in the year 1660.¹ After the Restoration his name appears constantly in the foreground in official matters regarding the sick and wounded seamen. He seems to have discharged most of the functions which now appertain to the Director-General of the Medical Department of the

¹ The only other medical names mentioned by Sir Edward Walker as accompanying the King from the Hague are those of "Dr. Quaterman, Physition, and Mr. Richard Billing." They are named as having attended on "His Majestie in his low and wandering condition in France, Spaine, Germany, and the Netherlands." The "Richard Billing" here named appears to be the same person who is elsewhere mentioned (see p. 78) as Bollen or Bolen, who took Wiseman's place at Court subsequently to the battle of Worcester and his imprisonment at Chester. After giving the list of names in which the foregoing are included, the account states:—"His Majestie thus attended, with a faire and prosperous Gale, sett sayle that day in y^e afternoone, and sayled all the next day (being Thursday), when he gave new Names to most of the Shippes in y^e flete, and early upon Friday morning y^e English Coast was discovered, y^e flete making for the Port of Dover," &c. See "The Manner of the most happy returne into England of Our Gracious Sovereigne Lord King Charles the Second, and his Proceeding through London upon Tuesday the 29th of May 1660," by Sir Edward Walker, &c., reprinted in London, 1820, p. 15.

Royal Navy, and occasionally to have been engaged in the same capacity not only for the concerns of the sick and wounded of the navy, but of those of the army also. When wounded men arrive in some of the ports from naval engagements with the Dutch, Sergeant-Surgeon Knight visits and advises on the arrangements necessary for their accommodation and treatment. He is sent by the King to accompany Mr. Evelyn, who was one of the Commissioners for the care of the sick and wounded in the Dutch war, in his visit to the ports on the Kentish coast, as we learn from a note on the subject in his published diary.¹ No naval surgeon receives his commission to a ship without the previous approval of Sergeant Knight as to his professional fitness for the appointment.² Knight examines the medical and surgical supplies both for the army and navy in respect to their quality and fitness in quantity.³ Among the War Office records is a certificate signed by him, bearing date 31st May 1678, that a certain surgeon's mate, who was attached for duty to the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, was entitled to pay, the amount of which is stated in the document.⁴ He is

¹ "21st March 1672. I visited the coasts in my district of Kent, and divers wounded and languishing men that had been in the Smyrna conflict."

"25th. I proceeded to Canterbury, Dover, &c., and so to Margate. Here we had abundance of miserably wounded men, His Majesty sending his chief Chirurgeon, Serjeant Knight, to meet me. Having taken orders for the accommodation of the wounded, I came back," &c. (The Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn, F.R.S. London: Colburn & Co., 1857. Vol. ii. pp. 71, 72.)

² See Appendix VIII. No. 5.

³ Ibid.

⁴ A copy of this certificate may be seen at p. 73 of "Our Services

an energetic member of the Barber-Surgeons' Company, and was on three separate occasions elected President of the Company.¹ There seems to be reason for believing that the age and infirmities of Sergeant Pile, and the increasing ill-health of Sergeant Wiseman about the time when he was made sergeant-surgeon, incapacitated them in a great degree for taking similarly active parts in public affairs.

At the period of Wiseman's removal to Covent Garden, he suffered occasionally from attacks of bleeding from the lungs, and he seems to have become a confirmed invalid for several years preceding the date of his decease. Judging from some brief remarks on the subject, he must have been liable to attacks of illness from the time when he returned to London after his employment in the Spanish navy. He mentions that his ill state of health kept him confined to his house from time to time. He does not state what the exact nature of his malady was, but the allusions he makes to his ailments in his writings sufficiently show that he suffered from some pulmonary disorder, the result probably, in part at least, of exposure during his military service at the time of the Civil War in England and his subsequent service in the navy of Spain. He is represented as stout and strong in his portrait done in 1660, but his features appear rather

under the Crown," by Surgeon-Major A. Gore, M.S. London: Bailliere, 1879.

¹ In the years 1663, 1669, and 1677.

sharp and delicate in his portrait at the College of Surgeons. This is a portrait of later date, and in it his aspect is quite consistent with the existence of a phthisical tendency. He mentions that on one occasion, when he had been exerting himself in trepanning a patient who was suffering from paralysis depending on a depressed fracture of the skull, the bad air of the room led to a severe attack of hæmoptysis. One can readily imagine what a state of congestion might be induced by the impure atmosphere engendered by many persons being collected in a room of one of the undrained London houses of the time, with their low ceilings and the unsanitary condition of the narrow streets in which they were built, and how constitutionally trying such an ordeal must have been to a person suffering from a weak or disordered state of the lungs. "Going out of his close room," Wiseman writes, "(where I was crowded up with great Lights burning near me), into the fresh air, I presently burst out with a violent coughing of blood: yet the next day I drest the Patient again," &c.¹ And again, in the year 1665, when he left London and went into the country on account of the terrible visitation of the plague, he refers to the fact, not only to his being lame from the effects of a broken leg, but also to his being "indisposed with coughing blood."² On another occasion, when he had been sent for to

¹ *Op. cit.*, edit. 1672, p. 120; edit. 1676, p. 393, "Wounds of the Head."

² "In the year of the great Sicknesse, whilst I was in the North-country, a Gentleman sent his servant to me who had some half a year

see a lady in the country suffering from numerous ulcers that required much attention, he writes: "I being quite tired, Mr. Newman, a Chirurgeon, was sent for, and relieved me. I soon returned again, and stayed until I grew diseased myself, and with much difficulty returned home. Then another Chirurgeon was sent thither; and before I recovered of my own sickness I heard that she died most painfully."¹

It was to Wiseman's bad state of health in his latter years that we owe the existence of his great work, the "Chirurgical Treatises." Had his frame continued robust, his time would doubtless have been as absorbed by the active work of his profession as he describes it to have been during the earlier period of his life.² He writes in the preface to his folio edition of 1676: "I have made a virtue of necessity, and have employed those hours for the public service which a frequently repeated sickness hath for this last twenty years past denied

before luxated his right shoulder. He had been with a Bone-setter, who made him believe he had set it; but, upon sight of it, I concluded it luxated, and felt the head of the Humerus lying in his arm-pit. I being then lame of my fractured leg, and indisposed with coughing bloud, advised the man to return to his Bone-setter and tell him what I had said," &c. (*Op. cit.*, edit. 1676, p. 490). The issue of this case is interesting. The man saw several bone-setters, but after all came again to Wiseman with the bone still luxated. Wiseman then, by means of the Pulley and "Coulstaffe," reduced the dislocation without any fresh accident supervening, and, notwithstanding the long time which had elapsed since the occurrence of the original injury, over six months, the man in the end recovered the use of his arm.

¹ *Op. cit.*, edit. 1676, pp. 33, 34.

² See Preface to the 1672 edition, where Wiseman speaks of "the little leisure I had from my profession, till my want of health of late years," &c. In the same Preface he alludes to his "sicknesses of body" at that date.

me the use of in my private occasions. It hath pleased God, by casting me into such a condition, to give me opportunity of reading and thinking, as well as practising; both which are necessary to the accomplishment not only of an author, but indeed of a chirurgeon. I cannot be so uncharitable to my brethren as to wish them the like sickness, to oblige them to the like retirements for contemplation and study." From one point of view, Wiseman's bad condition of health in his latter days, and partial retirement, so far as concerned outdoor exposure and bodily exertion, may be regarded as having been advantageous to his reputation. His compulsory confinement to his house enabled him to test and compare his own experience with the recorded experience and views of observers who had preceded him, and thus gave him the occasion of either confirming or modifying the deductions he had himself drawn from his own observations and practice.

It was under the depressing influence of his prolonged ill state of health, frequent confinement to his house, and physical weakness, that in the year 1676 Wiseman composed the Epistle to the Reader, which, though placed at the beginning of the large folio edition of his Treatises, internal evidence sufficiently shows was written after the work had been completed. The date impressed at the end of the first edition of his Treatises is April 4, 1672; the letter introducing the second edition is subscribed May 24, 1676. But while the spirit which pervades the introductory letter of the former work is in

accord with the characteristics of the month—general confidence with occasional allusions to his sad attacks of illness—sunshine and rainclouds—the Epistle to the Reader preceding the second edition seems as if it were composed under the cheerless gloom of the month of November, instead of being written under the influence of the brightness of the month of May. We are able in some degree to trace in it that the writer is suffering from exhaustion due to the gradual failing of his bodily powers, which we now know were fated to become totally extinguished several months before the year sank to its close. In perusing Wiseman's epistle of 1672, the reader feels, notwithstanding the allusions to his want of health of late years, that it is written with a certain sense of stability in the present and belief in a fair prospect of continued work and usefulness in the practice of his profession in the future. "Such men," he writes, "as have spent their whole Time and Parts in a perpetual Practice, are the best Instructors: of which, whether I deserve to be reckoned for one, the ensuing Treatise must tell you; it being an essay to a further work, which, if this succeeds, may hereafter be offered to the use of the world." In the Letter to the Reader which introduces the volume published in 1676, there are no expressions of corresponding hopefulness—no promise of future amendments of the treatises just written, nor of further additions to the experience hitherto acquired by him. Only the past is regarded; those who follow him are asked to accept

the work which has been accomplished, and this request is expressed in words which convey the idea that he is wishing them to regard it as a parting gift to be retained as a friendly memento of the giver. Indeed, the almost desponding tone of the concluding paragraph of this epistle might well be taken to indicate he was in some degree conscious of his end not being far off, and that he felt his professional career was near its close. He finishes his letter with a touching appeal for kindly consideration and remembrance. "After all things are considered and weighed," he writes, "in this and other Chirurgicall Discourses that are publick, and they compared with our success in Practice, we shall soon find cause of lamenting our own weakness and inability in the carrying on of so great a work as the recovery of Mankind out of those many Distempers to which various Misfortunes, and many repeated successions of Intemperance, and other Accidents both without and within, have betrayed us for so many ages together. . . . For my part, I have thought it no disgrace to let the world see where I failed of success, that those that come after me may learn what to avoid: there being more of instructiveness often in an unfortunate case than in a fortunate one; and more ingenuity in confessing such misfortunes which are incident to mankind, and which have attended all my Brethren as well as my self, and will attend thee also, Reader, if thou undertake the imployment. Thou wilt also learn one necessary piece of Humi-

lity, viz., not to trust too much in thy own judgment, especially in difficult cases, but to think fit to seek the advice of other Physicians or Chirurgeons, whose long experience hath enabled them to assist thee in preventing the Accidents, and encourage thee to go on in the work, or forewarn thee of the danger. After thou hast thus defended thyself from the censure of Rashness, proceed boldly, and let thy sincerity in thy acting be thy warrant to hope for God's Blessing on thy endeavours; and if these Papers prove any advantage to thee in them, remember with kindness the Labours of

Thy Friend and Servant,

RICHARD WISEMAN."

May 24,
1676.

The date of Wiseman's death was not mentioned in any of the published biographical notices concerning him. Dr. Aikin, in his historical notice of Wiseman, states that "the time of his death is uncertain," and his other biographers have left the time of its occurrence in the same condition of doubt. It was sufficiently evident that he was living at his house in Covent Garden in 1672, the date of publication of the first edition of his Treatises, for a reference occurs in the book to his being confined in that year to his chamber by illness, and also to the treatment of a patient at his house in that locality.¹ No allusion is made

¹ "And here, in the Covent Garden, in an old sinuous ulcer I had great difficulty," &c. (*Op. cit.*, edit. 1672, 2nd part, p. 23).

in his later work of 1676 to a change of residence, and it therefore seemed to me probable that he was still occupying the same house in Covent Garden at the time of his death. I accordingly wrote to the Rector of the parish, the Rev. Mr. Cumberlege, asking him if the records of his parish extended as far back as the latter half of the seventeenth century, and if so, whether the date of burial of Richard Wiseman about that time was to be found in them. Mr. Cumberlege was good enough to reply to me that the register had been examined agreeably to my request, and that from it had been extracted the following notices of burials:—

“23 Feb. 1674. Dorothy, wife of Richard Wiseman, in chancel.”
“29th Aug. 1676. Richard Wiseman, in upper end of church.”

Search was made for any other particulars that might bear reference to the histories or occupations of the subjects of these entries, but none were discovered.¹ A study of all the circumstances, however, established the fact beyond all reasonable doubt, that the Richard Wiseman whose burial in August 1676 is recorded in the register of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, was the same Richard Wiseman

¹ There was probably a flagstone or tablet, on which Wiseman's age and other particulars regarding him were inscribed, but none now exist. The church was destroyed by fire in September 1795, and I am informed that many of the memorial flagstones of the church were used for paving the ground around the new building without the inscriptions upon them having been copied or preserved. The first church was built in the year 1632, the celebrated Inigo Jones having been the architect; the present church, as narrated on a tablet under the portico, was completed in 1798, and opened for divine service on the 1st of August of that year.

whose history I have been attempting to trace, and that his death had occurred a little more than two years after that of his wife, and about four months after the publication of his large folio work on Surgery. The fact of Wiseman's death having occurred in the latter part of the year 1676 explained many circumstances that were hardly explicable under the supposition of his death having occurred some years later. Had it taken place near the time when the second folio edition of his Treatises appeared, in 1678, it would be very difficult to explain how it happened that this edition had been published without any emendation or additions by the author. His death shortly after the publication of the edition of 1676 at once clears away all difficulties in the way of understanding the absence of any change in the text of the edition of 1686. The edition of 1676 exhibits throughout the pains taken by the author to make it more perfect than the previous edition. It abounds with evidence of the care taken by him to improve it in language and style, as well as in matter. Moreover, as regards all the subsequent editions of Wiseman's works, unless his death had occurred about the date mentioned, no explanation could be found for the fact of the same "Epistle to the Reader," with its appended date of May 24, 1676, being repeated in each of them. I therefore regarded it as sufficiently established that the date of Sergeant-Surgeon Wiseman's death was that shown in the Covent Garden parish record, viz., the 29th of August

1676, although at the time no positive proof of the true connection between that event and the entry in the burial register was available.

Things were in this state when the missing proof was obtained by the discovery of Richard Wiseman's will by Mr. Bailey, the Librarian of the Royal College of Surgeons of England. It was subsequently made known to me by Mr. James Dixon, F.R.C.S., that he had already, twenty years previously, published the date of Wiseman's death in a weekly journal, the *Medical Times and Gazette*. The proof of the time of Wiseman's death had become known to Mr. Dixon in the same way as Mr. Bailey's finding the will had caused it to become known to myself. The will had been discovered by Mr. Dixon's friend Colonel Chester,¹ who had communicated its contents to Mr. Dixon. It is extremely

¹ Mr. Dixon gave me an interesting account of this gentleman. He was an American colonel of militia from Boston. His ruling passion was to trace out *with certainty* the genealogy of Washington. He upset the popular notion of the General having been the great-grandson of Sir John Washington, but, though the most persevering and industrious historical antiquarian that ever lived, he died without discovering "the missing link." Last year (1889) another persevering antiquary, Mr. Waters, of the United States, came to England, and succeeded in proving the point which Colonel Chester had all but settled. From a little before 1860 till his death a few years ago, Colonel Chester was incessantly at work. He compiled records of Westminster Abbey for Dean Stanley, travelled all over England making copies of parish registers, and formed a collection of those in the City of London. All his historical collections are now at the College of Arms.

The late Dean Stanley has put on record the following tribute to the character of this American gentleman. When referring to the earlier burial register of Westminster Abbey, from 1606 to 1706, the Dean writes as follows:—"The Dean and Chapter have been fortunate in obtaining the valuable aid of a learned and laborious antiquarian—Colonel Chester, of the United States of America—who has undertaken

curious that the announcement of this event by Mr. Dixon should have attracted so little attention. The fact of it remaining so generally unknown seems to be due to its having been printed in a periodical which at the time had lost much of its influence, and which ceased to appear altogether a few years subsequently.¹

Wiseman's death, though evidently regarded by himself, and no doubt by others, as near at hand, eventually occurred with unexpected suddenness. He had gone to Bath in the hope of obtaining some improvement in the state of his health, and, it seems, he took his will, or a draft of it, with him. The document was prepared in due legal form, and was complete in all its provisions, only wanting date, signature, and attestation. But the space left for the date was never filled up, and he died without attaching his signature to it. It is probable that the fatal termination of his career was directly due to

a complete edition of the whole Register, with references and annotations wherever necessary, with a zeal which must be as gratifying to our country as it is creditable to his own."—*Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, by A. P. Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster, 3rd and revised edition. London: Murray, 1869, p. 206.

The publication of Mr. Dixon's contribution to the history of Wiseman, and his mention of the date of Wiseman's death, were obviously unknown to Mr. B. W. Richardson when he wrote his essay on Wiseman and the Surgery of the Commonwealth in the *Asclepiad* in 1886; and equally so to the writer of the History of Surgery in the last edition (the 9th) of the *Encycl. Britannica*, who states that Wiseman was alive in the time of James II., and held office under that monarch. It is singular, too, that the existence of the article escaped notice in that compendium of reference, Neale's Digest.

¹ Mr. Dixon's article on this subject appeared in the *Medical Times and Gazette* on the 19th October 1872. The publication of this journal which was then on the wane, ceased altogether about the year 1885.

one of those sudden attacks of hæmorrhage from the lungs with which he had been previously visited on more than one occasion, and which are several times alluded to in his professional writings. It is shown, however, that he was able to declare, before a sufficient number of independent witnesses, that the arrangements stated in the document described as his very last will and testament were in accordance with his dying wishes, and this document was therefore accepted for probate as a *testamentum nuncupatum*, that is, a will verbally declared in the presence of several witnesses to be his last will, in which the testator has mentioned his heirs by name, though he has not attached his own signature to it in writing. If the document had been left unsigned at his house in Covent Garden, under the same testimony and circumstances, it would no doubt have been regarded as valid; but as it was with him at Bath, there was less difficulty in verifying the fact that it possessed the same authority as if it had been signed by the testator's own hand.¹ A full copy of the will is given, for purposes of reference, in the Appendix. (See p. 184.)

There were three witnesses to the genuineness of

¹ The will may have been prepared at Bath, and Wiseman's death have taken place directly after it was drawn out, but circumstances seem to consist more with the document having been prepared in London, and carried, without being completed, by Wiseman to Bath. He could have hardly anticipated his end was so near at hand, or he would scarcely have left his home in London with a hope of being benefited by the change of residence; and he may have wished to give further consideration to some particular details of the will in respect to the disposal of his property before signing it.

the will, their names being Elizabeth Ballidowne, Mary Ferreman, and John Hayes. In a memorandum dated the 28th August 1676, written on the unsigned will, these three persons declared that on the day and year mentioned they were witnesses that Mr. Wiseman had asserted that to be his last will and testament. He had desired in his will that his body should be laid near the remains of his first wife, in the Church of St. Paul, Covent Garden. His wish was carried into effect, and, as shown by the entry in the burial register of the parish, already quoted, his remains were interred at the upper end of the church on the 29th of August, the ninth day after his dying declaration as to the authenticity of the unsigned will, and beyond doubt the ninth day also after the date of his decease. The conveyance of his body from Bath to London must have been an undertaking of some difficulty and cost at the time, for, owing to the state of the roads, the obstacles in the way of communication in the seventeenth century between towns a considerable distance apart were by no means slight even for horsemen, while for such a conveyance as a funeral carriage they must have been very much greater.

Wiseman was twice married. Nothing is known of the first wife beyond the fact that her Christian name was Dorothy, and that her niece, Mary Doughty by name, was living at the time of Wiseman's decease. Dorothy Wiseman died in February 1674, and was buried on the 23rd of that month in the chancel of the Church of St. Paul in Covent

Garden. If the date of burial were entered in the parish record in accordance with the mode of computation in ordinary use at the time, as was no doubt the case, although it was not written 1674-5, as is customary when dates under the old style are mentioned, the death of Dorothy Wiseman only preceded that of her husband by about eighteen months. If it were dated as the year now begins—on the 1st of January—it would, of course, have been two and a half years before his death. No such mode of reckoning was, however, employed in civil, domestic, or legal matters of date under the ancient mode of computation in England, so that the interval between his wife's and his own decease was only eighteen months, as above stated. Wiseman's second marriage must have been contracted about a year after the death of his first wife. We learn from the terms of his will that his second wife was Mary Mauleveror, sister of Sir Thomas Mauleveror.¹ She was the youngest daughter of Sir Richard, the second baronet of the name, and granddaughter of Sir Thomas Mauleveror, the first baronet, who was one of the members of the High Court of Justice that was appointed by the House of Commons for the trial of Charles I. and that sentenced him to death. He was also one of the members who attached their signatures to the King's death-warrant. Sir Thomas died about five years prior to the Restoration, in the year

¹ The name, spelled "Mauleveror" in Wiseman's will, is spelled in various ways in old works. Mauleverer, Mauliverer, and Maliverer, are each occasionally met with.

1655, and thus escaped the trial and execution which he would doubtless otherwise have undergone; for in the Declaration of Clemency by Charles II. prior to his return to his dominions, he specially excluded from pardon all "who sat and voted for the murder" of his father. His son Richard, who succeeded him as second baronet, could not have partaken of his father's republican views, for after the Restoration he became attached to the royal household as a gentleman of the privy chamber. Sir Richard died early, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Thomas, the third baronet, whose youngest sister Wiseman took for his second wife. It is a curious occurrence that such a staunch and consistent Royalist as Wiseman was during his whole life should have married into the family of one of the regicides of Charles I. The fact that Wiseman held a mortgage on the Mauleverer estate may have assisted in bringing about the event of the marriage.

At the time of Wiseman's death his widow Mary was pregnant, and subsequently gave birth to a son, who was christened in the name of his father. He died in childhood, and was buried near his father's remains in St. Paul's Church in November 1678, only two years and three months after his father's death. Wiseman had made ample provision for this posthumous child in his will. As this was Wiseman's only child, he left no direct descendant.

Wiseman appointed his widow sole executrix of his will and residuary legatee of his estate. The will was proved on the 12th of September 1676,

little more than three weeks after the date of the attestation previously quoted.

Not long after her husband's death Mrs. Wiseman married again. Her second husband was Mr. Thomas Harrison, of Gray's Inn, who evidently acted as her legal adviser after her first husband's death. His name is first met with in a paper drawn up in legal form and addressed to the Treasurer of His Majesty's Chamber. It is an application on the part of his wife, as representing her late husband, and of himself as her present husband, for a sum of £52, which was owing to Richard Wiseman at the time of his death for a year's lodging allowance between the 8th of August 1663 and the 8th of August 1664. This was a money allowance at the rate of twenty shillings per week in lieu of a residence at Court, to which Wiseman was entitled in his capacity as surgeon-in-ordinary to the King. A warrant for the payment of the long overdue amount of this allowance had been procured by Wiseman in the year before his death,¹ but this warrant was supposed to have been burned in a fire that occurred in the Temple, so that the money was not paid. It was to recover this sum that the application was made by Mr. Harrison in his own and his wife's name. The application is among the Lord Chamberlain's records preserved in the Public Record Office, and a copy of it will be found in the Appendix. (See p. 192.)

¹ An entry of the warrant alluded to is still preserved in the Book of Warrants at the Public Record Office. It bears the date of February 1674-75.

Mrs. Harrison did not live many years after her second marriage, and there is no evidence to show that she had any other children but the posthumous son which she bore to Wiseman, who was buried in Covent Garden. She herself died in 1680, and was buried near the grave of her first husband at St. Paul's Church on the 13th of August of that year.

Little is known of the family relatives Wiseman left behind him. We learn from the following passage in his will that at least two married sisters survived him, and that the name of one of them was Hastings. The passage is as follows:—"Item, my will is and I do hereby declare that in case the said child (whereof my wife is now pregnant) shall happen to dye during its minority, then I doe hereby give and bequeath the said severall estates and leases before herein before given and settled unto and upon my said child to my sisters for the maintenance of them and their children, as my sister Hastings shall think fitt to dispose and appoint. And I doe further give unto them, my said sisters and their children, the remaining debts due to me by bond, patent, tally, or otherwise, for their better and larger maintenance, as my sister Hastings shall think fitt to dispose." There is no allusion to these blood relations in any other document that has come to my knowledge.

Among the persons mentioned by name in Wiseman's will is Jacques Wiseman, whom he has several times referred to in his chirurgical treatises as assist-

ing him in his surgical operations, and sometimes as carrying on the treatment of his patients in his absence. He always alludes to him under the designation of "my kinsman," but he never specifies what the family relation between them was. There is an entry in one of the Apprentice-books in the possession of the Company of Barber-Surgeons to the effect that Jaquier Wiseman, the son of Samuel Wiseman, citizen and apothecary, was apprenticed to Richard Wiseman on the 5th of May 1663 for seven years; and in the Freedom-book of the Company it is stated that Jacques Wiseman, the apprentice of Richard Wiseman—evidently the same as previously called Jaquier—was admitted to the freedom by service on the 2nd of April 1672.¹

It appears from an entry in the Calendar of State Papers, 1666, having reference to a request by Sergeant-Surgeon T. Knight to Mr. Williamson² on the subject, that Jacques Wiseman obtained a commission as surgeon to a regiment, the Earl of Carlisle's, during the period of his apprenticeship, but no particulars regarding him during his service in that capacity have been preserved. (See Appendix VIII. No. 6.)

Richard Wiseman leaves in his will one hundred

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Sidney Young for this information.

² Mr. Williamson, afterwards Sir Joseph Williamson, to whom Sergeant-Surgeon Knight makes his request regarding this commission, was at the time secretary to Lord Arlington, Secretary of State. He subsequently held various important public positions, and himself became Secretary of State. He is frequently alluded to by Pepys in his Diary and Correspondence.

pounds to Jacques Wiseman, and again he styles him simply "my kinsman":—"Item, I give unto my kinsman Jacques Wiseman one hundred pounds, to be paid him ariseing out of my other debts due to me upon bond." It seems to be beyond doubt that this Jacques Wiseman is the same Wiseman as is alluded to by Luttrell in his "Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs, &c.," under date of Tuesday, 26th February 1701-2 (see vol. v. p. 146):—"Yesterday died Mr. Wiseman, a noted surgeon in Long Acre, and left an only daughter worth 30,000*l*." ¹

Mr. Bailey, of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, has kindly examined Mr. Jacques Wiseman's will for me, but did not find any mention of Richard Wiseman or of his family in it. The will was made in the year 1687, and at that date Richard Wiseman, his son, and widow had all been dead for some years (1676-1680), so that the absence of all allusion to these relatives is quite accounted for. By the will of 1687 Jacques Wiseman left all his estate to his wife, as well as his leasehold property, excepting the house in which he was then living, which he bequeathed to his daughter on her coming of age or on her marriage. The remark in Luttrell's History of State Affairs

¹ As Long Acre is in the parish of St.-Martin's-in-the-Fields, I had inquiries instituted to ascertain if his age at the time of his death, or any other particulars regarding him, had been recorded in the parish registers, but none were found. He was buried in some other parish, perhaps at the adjoining parish church of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, where Richard Wiseman and other members of the family named in this memoir were buried.

already quoted shows that the decease of Jacques Wiseman's wife took place prior to his own death in 1702, and that his only surviving child was the daughter who inherited his fortune.

Jacques Wiseman mentions a kinsman, John Fell, in his will. He leaves his clothes and £10 to him, and to his mother, Jane Fell, £10. The manner in which the will is worded, Mr. Bailey informs me, leaves it uncertain whether Jane Fell was the mother of John Fell or Jacques Wiseman's mother, who, while a widow, may have married a second time. It is just possible that Jane Fell may have been one of the sisters who are referred to by Richard Wiseman in his will, as he only mentions the name of one of them, Mrs. Hastings.

The only relatives of his own family, near or distant, mentioned in Richard Wiseman's will are thus his sisters, their children, and the above-named Jacques Wiseman. There is no sure evidence that the Mr. Edmond Wiseman named in his will was a blood relation. He refers to one of his sisters by the name of Hastings. He also alludes to one relation by marriage, the niece of his first wife, Mary Doughty.

A name mentioned on several occasions by Wiseman in his writings, but not mentioned in his will, is that of William Clarke, who, Wiseman tells us, after assisting him, settled as a surgeon at Bridgenorth. Wiseman usually writes of him as "my servant William Clarke," or as "Will. Clarke, who was then one of my servants," and only on one occasion

that I have noticed speaks of him as "my friend William Clarke." He is frequently brought to notice by Wiseman as being associated with him in operating and dressing the wounded at the battle of Worcester.¹ His name is rarely alluded to after Wiseman removed to London, and as Wiseman describes him as a young surgeon when at Worcester, and as Mr. Clarke subsequently refers to Wiseman as his master, it is probable that he was in the position of an apprentice to Wiseman at that time, but that he became free shortly after the time of the battle, and then established himself in practice at Bridgenorth. The term

¹ The following are some of Wiseman's references to William Clarke on the occasion of the battle of Worcester :—"Upon sight whereof, I called Will. Clarke (now a Chirurgeon at Bridgenorth) and other my servants about me, to cut off the Arm," &c. (Edit. 1676, Bk. vi. ch. v. p. 420). "But Will. Clarke, who was then one of my servants, and assisted me in the dressing them" (p. 441). "At the Battel of Worcester, a Souldier came to us where we were dressing, with his Sword in his hand, the Blade broken off near the Hilt, with many wounds on his Head. I, seeing the Hairy scalp of one side of his Head hanging down his Neck, went to him, and calling my friend Will. Clarke to me with a Sponge to cleanse the wound, we saw, &c. . . . The Alarm growing hot of the Enemies entering the Citie, I left Will. Clarke to bind it up, and made my way out of the town. But this young Chirurgeon, being taken busied in dressing the wounded Souldiers, had liberty, after the Heat of the fight was over, to imploy his Charity in dressing some of them, and writ me," &c. (*Op. cit.*, edit. 1676, Bk. v. ch. ix. p. 399). Again, in the cases of two soldiers who were severely burned by an explosion of gunpowder during the battle, Wiseman writes, after describing the injuries and the manner in which they were treated, "I did not see the issue : but Will. Clarke, who was then one of my servants, and assisted me in the dressing them, staid there, and attended their Cure after the Defeat of our army. And he lately told me, he cured the latter with Ung. tutiæ, &c., and the former made his Escape out of the Town" (*Op. cit.*, edit. 1676, Bk. vi. ch. i. p. 441). These cases are not mentioned in the same chapter in the edition of 1672 ; Mr. Clarke seems to have recalled them to Wiseman's recollection after that date.

“servant,” used by Wiseman, supports this supposition. This designation was used in Wiseman’s time in a very different sense from the one which it now usually bears. As Mr. Sidney Young has shown in his “Annals of the Barber-Surgeons’ Company,” the ordinary mode, in the early part of the seventeenth century, of getting a license for the practice of surgery was through a probationary period of “servitude,” or, as it would now be styled, of “apprenticeship.” The signification of the word “servant,” as used by Wiseman, is preserved in the expression still in use of having “served as an apprentice,” or of having “served his apprenticeship.” The annals of the Barber - Surgeons’ Company show what strict subjection and obedience were required on the part of apprentices to their masters in those days, but Wiseman’s authority does not seem to have been exerted in a way to hurt the feelings of his apprentice William Clarke, if a judgment may be formed on the point from the respectful, but at the same time friendly, tone of a letter addressed by him to Wiseman from Bridgenorth in November 1675. This letter, commencing “Honoured Master,” and ending “Your most obliged Servant,” is printed in the 1676 edition of Wiseman’s works. (See Bk. iv. ch. v. p. 312.)

Mr. Sidney Young has not succeeded in finding any mention of William Clarke in the records of the Barber-Surgeons’ Company. It is not unlikely that he was attached to Wiseman when he was

abroad, and that he accompanied him when he came over with the King to Scotland, but that, becoming separated when Wiseman was made a prisoner after the defeat at Worcester, their mutual relations of master and servant were not resumed. He does not appear to have followed Wiseman to London.

Certain papers which will be found in the Appendix show very precisely the amount of the salaries and allowances Wiseman received for the appointments which he successively held at Court. When appointed surgeon-in-ordinary to the King, his fee amounted to £40 a year, with the addition of an annuity of £150 a year. When promoted to be principal surgeon and serjeant-surgeon, his fee as principal surgeon became increased to £80 a year, while, in addition, he received a fee as serjeant-surgeon of 40 marks, or £26, 13s. 4d. a year. Thus, as principal surgeon and serjeant-surgeon, he received £106, 13s. 4d. a year, which, with the annuity of £150 a year, gave him a total income from these sources of £256, 13s. 4d. a year. It was at this rate that, towards the end of the year in which Wiseman's death occurred, his widow received the salary due to her late husband for the quarter of the year ending "at the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, in the 25th year of the reign of King Charles the Second" (24th June 1674).

It is not an easy matter to fix with exactness the value of this income in Wiseman's time relatively to what would be its value in our own day. The sub-

ject of the equivalents of money at different periods in one and the same country has been studied by many historians and political economists, but the facts involved in such investigations are generally too complex for obtaining a definite solution capable of being applied to every particular instance. Professor Gardiner—as quoted by Mr. Inderwick—has given the value of a sovereign in the year 1642 to be rather more than 4.17 sovereigns now; or, in other words, that one pound in the reign of Charles I. was equal in value to rather more than £4, 3s. 5d. in the reign of Queen Victoria. It will be thus seen that assuming the relative values of money at the two periods to be approximately as 1 : 4, the income of Wiseman in his capacity of serjeant-surgeon to the King would be equivalent to an income of £1026, 13s. 4d. at the present time.¹

In addition to the income just now named, which, as already shown, was by no means an inconsiderable one, Wiseman was entitled to lodging allowance at the rate of £1 a week when apartments were not pro-

¹ This is the value of money at the time of the Commonwealth, compared with its purchasing power at the present day, adopted by Mr. Inderwick in his work on the legislative and social history of that period. He writes:—"It is generally put at five times the present value. Mr. Palgrave puts it at three times, but Mrs. Everard Green and Dr. Gardiner, who are conversant with the records of this period and have made a study of this question, are of opinion that the purchasing power of money then was four times what it is now. I prefer to adopt their conclusions, and it will therefore be understood that every £100 in the following list represents £400 of the money of to-day."—*The Interregnum* (A.D. 1648-1660), &c., by F. A. Inderwick, Q.C., &c. London: Sampson Low & Co., 1891, p. 245. The annual salary attached to the position of serjeant-surgeon to the Queen is now stated (Whitaker's Almanack) to be £280.

vided for him at Court. It has been previously stated that in the year 1674-5 a warrant for £52 (a year's lodging allowance), which had been due to him from a date as far back as August 1664, was burnt, or supposed to have been burnt, on the occasion of a fire in the Temple, and that neither the warrant nor the money had been recovered by him at the time of his death. Subsequently, in the year 1679, a conjoined application was made to the Treasurer of His Majesty's Household for the renewal of this lost warrant by Wiseman's widow and her second husband, Mr. Harrison. (See Appendix XVII.) The evidence afforded by this case, and abundant other evidence, prove that although certain salaries and allowances were fixed by warrant to the State appointments, they were very irregularly paid at this period of history. The disordered state of the public finances in the reign of Charles II. is indeed a matter of common notoriety.

I have already mentioned that upwards of 600 cases, or "observations" of surgical diseases and injuries, that had fallen under Wiseman's professional care and treatment, are described by him with more or less minuteness of detail in his treatises. Some few of these observations incidentally contain remarks on extraneous matters that are likely to interest general readers. Some throw a certain amount of light on the state of society in Wiseman's day, as well as on the prevailing manners and habits of the people. Traits of character and personal peculiarities not unfrequently occur in them. Now

and then they indicate particular points in the condition of London in his time, or of some of the neighbouring "country villages" which have long since been absorbed into the great city itself. I will cite a few such observations in illustration of the foregoing remarks.

The extract which follows contains some curious references to the different qualities of the air in places which now form continuous parts of the "Metropolis," but which, in the days of the Stuarts, were completely detached villages, regarded by Londoners much as such places as Windsor or Kingston are now, and doubtless less accessible, by the means of communication which then existed, than Kingston or Windsor are at the present time. The quotation enables us to realise how limited an area the inhabited part of London occupied in Wiseman's day when compared with its present extent.

"Air," writes Wiseman, "is a great help in our Cure: in the cold ones (patients) it ought to be moderately heating and attenuating, in the hot ones cooling; in neither over-much piercing, as that of *Hampsted* is, in which sort of Air there is always something esurine and acid;¹ but rather mild and gentle, as that of *Kingsington*, upon which supposition of gentleness, the farther removed from the smoke of the City the better. I shall mention one Observation which I leave to your judgment, whether it ought to be attributed to the smoke of the City, or

¹ "Esurine and acid." Query: esurine, eating, in the sense of consuming or destructive, acid, and sharp?

Northern blasts from High-gate. It was in a Patient of Dr. *Tho. Cox* and mine, diseased and wasted even to skin and bone: we removed him to *Knights-bridge*, where, after in some weeks, he had a little recruited his strength, and was eased of his Cough, which had been very grievous to him; we removed him (for more conveniency of curing an Ulcer with *caries* of the *cranium* which he had some time laboured under) to a Lodging near *Kings-Gate* in *Holbourn*, which stood backwards and Airy enough, the windows opening to the Fields. Upon lying there but two nights he relapsed to such a degree, that if I had not removed him the third day I verily believe he could not have survived the fourth; but at *Knights-bridge* he again recovered, and some weeks went well away to his Parents in the Country.”¹

The next observation incidentally shows that “Guy Fawkes’ Day,” with its displays of fireworks, had become an established institution, at least among school-boys, before the year 1672²:—“A young gentleman of about 10 years of age, boarded at a school a few miles off, the evening before the 5th of November, having filled his right pocket full of squibs and crackers, threw one of them into the chimney amongst the embers. It took fire: but whether it scattered the fire, and some spark of that flew into his pocket, or whether it was the cracker,

¹ Edit. 1676, Bk. iv. ch. iv. p. 255.

² The celebrated “Gunpowder Plot,” according to historical records, was discovered on the 4th November 1605. The mine was intended to be fired on the following day, the 5th of November.

those in his pocket took fire also, and his cloathes burnt. At the sight whereof his little Chamber-fellow ran out for help. In his absence a little boy from some other apartment took the alarm, came in, and seeing his school-fellow in a flame, catched up a bason of water, and threw it upon him; then ran away for help. Others came in and rescued him out of his burnt cloaths. A neighbouring chirurgeon was sent for, who dressed him. The next day they brought the patient to town.”¹ The burns extended from the armpit over a considerable part of the body, nearly down to the right knee. The patient’s hand and arm were also badly burned in trying to get the fireworks out of his pocket. Wiseman describes the treatment adopted by him. The dressings applied to the burns varied according as the burns were superficial or deep. The boy made a complete recovery, the cicatrices being “even and smooth, without the least inequality, nothing remaining but the red colour to make them discernible.”

I quote the next extract because the observation from which it is taken contains the only mention of a fee paid to him that I have observed in Wiseman’s writings; because the fee referred to represented a considerable sum at the time the occurrence took place; and because, further, the story offers a curious

¹ Edit. 1676, Bk. vi. ch. i. p. 441. In the work of 1672, the sentence runs—“The next day the burnt child is brought to town, and lodged by me” (Part ii. p. 78). It was evidently a common occurrence for patients who were brought from the country to be under Wiseman’s treatment to be placed in lodgings near his residence in Covent Garden.

example of the long time taken by a liberal patient to assure himself that the cure is complete before making up his mind to remunerate his surgical attendant. The case of the person alluded to in the history under notice has been previously mentioned at page 81. As there stated, the patient had been suffering from various effects of syphilis for a period of seven years, and had "passed through many hands beyond sea and here," but at last consulted Wiseman, whose treatment resulted in his recovery. After closing his account of the case, Wiseman mentions: "This person retired afterwards into the country, and returned to London at the end of two years, and acknowledged to me his cure by settling £30 a year upon me during his life, and paid me £60 for the two years passed."¹

I will select only one other among such observations for quotation. The story affords a striking instance of a patient suffering severe pain from the supposed tight pressure of an imaginary ligature. Instances of physical suffering due to imaginary causes, and of its cure by acting through the imagination, are common enough in medical and surgical practice. In the following example, however, the cure was not accomplished by any deception, but by merely appealing to the patient's common sense, and proving to him that both the existence of the

¹ The sum mentioned, according to the data furnished at page 122, was equivalent to an annuity of about £120 a year during the patient's life, in addition to the payment of £240 at the time the annuity was settled. (For Wiseman's statement above quoted, see edit. of 1676, Bk. vii. ch. iv. p. 54.)

cause, and the pain felt in consequence of it, were imaginary. I cite it at full length, in the words in which Wiseman has related it, not merely as an illustration of the well-known influence of the mind over the body, but because the narration affords a characteristic specimen of the transparently truthful and almost dramatic descriptions given by Wiseman of some of the cases mentioned by him in his treatises. Wiseman's remark, in the course of the narrative, on his inability to keep pace with the wounded patient in his flight, seems to point to his deficient breathing capacity—a condition probably due to the same lung disorder, in an incipient stage, which afterwards led to his prolonged "sickness of body," attacks of hæmorrhage from the chest, and eventually to the fatal termination, which has been remarked upon in a previous part of this essay.

The account which follows is taken from the Appendix to his treatise on gun-shot wounds¹:—"At the siege of *Weymouth* I was called at break of day to an *Irish-man* of Lieutenant-Col. *Ballard's* Regiment, who shooting off his Musket, it brake, and tore his Hand to pieces after a strange manner. I, designing to cut off his Hand, sent presently to my Quarters to one of my Servants to bring both Saw and Knife, also Dressings, of which at those times we had always ready. They being brought, I took a red Ribbon from off my Case of Lancets, and bound it about his Arm some four fingers' breadth above the *Carpus*; and having cut the Flesh round

¹ Edit. 1676, Bk. vi. ch. ii. p. 455.

off, I bared the Bones, and separated the Flesh between them. Then I sawed off the Bones, and untied my Ligature, and bringing down the muscular Flesh and Skin over the end of them, without making any crosse Stitch, I drest up that Stump with Restrictives and good Bandage, and returned again to my Quarters. I had not been one hour gone, but I was sent for again to this Souldier, he being (as the Messenger said) grievously pained. I wondred at it, and hastned away; but before I came to his Hut, I heard him crying. I enquiring the cause, it was some while before he would answer me. But at last he told me, he was not able to endure that red Ribbon that I tied his Arm with. I was at first surprized to think I should leave the Ligature upon his Arm, that being a sure way to bring a Mortification upon the Part. I therefore put my Hand in my Pocket, and feeling the Ribbon on the case of Lancets, shewed it him. He seemed at first to doubt it, but after he saw it was so, he laught, and was from that time in ease. Two days after, our men were surprized and chased out of the Town and Chappell-fort.¹ I was at the same time dressing the wounded men in the Town almost under the Chappell-fort,² and hearing a woman cry *Fly! Fly!* the Fort is taken, I turned aside a little amazed toward the Line, not knowing what had been done; but getting up the Works, I saw

¹ See Appendix No. XXII.

² Edit. 1672, Part ii. p. 102. "I was at the same time, it being about 12 o'clock, dressing the wounded in a house for that purpose in the Town, almost under the Chappel and Fort."

our people running away, and those of the Fort shooting at them. I slipt down this Work into the Ditch, and got out of the Trench; and as I began to run, hearing one call Chirurgeon, I turned back, and seeing a man holding up a stumped Arm, I thought it was the *Irish-man* whom I had so lately dismembred: whereupon I returned and helpt him up. We ran together, it being within half a Musket-shot of the Enemies' Fort; but he out-ran me quite. I afterwards cured him in few weeks by the method already proposed in the preceding Discourse."

It may be inferred from Wiseman's literary style, and from various references in the course of his writings, that he had a liberal education in early life, according to the general state of learning prevailing at the time he lived. His language is well suited for conveying his ideas, and his sentences are usually accurate in construction. It is remarkable how much more closely the spelling of the words in the large folio edition of his works accords with the mode of spelling in vogue at the present day, than is found to be the case in many of the letters written and works published at the same period. Whole paragraphs can be extracted from Wiseman's treatises with every word of them spelled as they would be in a modern book. He was certainly familiar with Latin, but all surgeons of his time before commencing their professional studies were examined as to their knowledge of that language. He makes frequent quotations from Latin works, including those

of some classical authors, as Livy.¹ But he expressly states that he had been so constantly occupied in the practical exercise of his profession that he had not given any time to "scholarly diversion" until illness, with the enforced retirement which it entailed, caused him to become a student.

Occasionally country practitioners, when consulting Wiseman by letter, wrote to him the history of the case, and the questions on which they desired advice, in the Latin language. Latin in the seventeenth century appears to have been what French is now among diplomatists of different nationalities. It was certainly also the language in which books and treatises were often written when they were intended to be read not only in England, but also by the learned of other countries. But why one English medical practitioner writing to another English practitioner should send his communications in any other but the native language common to both, is not easy to explain. Even the motives which are sometimes adduced in defence of writing medical prescriptions in Latin seem inapplicable to an interchange of information taking place in that language between two English medical men. In one of the treatises there is the report of a case written at some considerable length in Latin by Ed. Duke, M.D., to Wiseman, whom he styles "Chyrur-

¹ Wiseman, in the course of his works, refers to the writings of Hippocrates, Galen, Celsus, Sennertus, Scultetus, Gesner, Fallopius, Petr. Pigreus, Ætius, Botallus, and perhaps of other authors, but I have sought in vain for any allusion to Magatus, whom Dr. Delorme has stated he copied.

gum artis peritissimum," in which the motive for narrating it in Latin might have been a feeling of delicacy about rendering the description as accessible to unprofessional persons as it would have been in English. It is an account of the case of a young lady who died from the effects of an abscess near the shoulder, in whose instance there was an examination after death of the parts involved in the disease (Edit. 1676, p. 25). In another instance, however, the history is one of a male patient unnamed, who was suffering from disease of part of the lower jaw, "whose case I have inserted as it was sent me," writes Wiseman (Edit. cit., p. 289), in which there could certainly not have been any motive for trying to conceal from others the particulars related in it, or the question on which Wiseman's advice was desired.

Although Wiseman, as he himself tells us, was an abstainer from wine and strong liquors—a "water-drinker"—he recommends, what few abstainers are found to agree with now-a-days, that stimulants should be administered to patients who have been accustomed to the use of them. "There should be a consideration had of the Patient's manner of living. Some people have so accustomed themselves to drinking of strong drinks, that without a proportion of them they cannot live. . . . This I have seen often in some of the Dunkerkerers at Sea, who drank extraordinarily, and were full of Drink at some of their Sea-fights. I could scarce ever cure any of them without allowing them wine"

(Edit. 1676, Bk. v. ch. i. p. 346). He instances a servant who was habitually allowed a large amount of wine by his master, and who was bitten in the hand by a monkey. To prevent inflammation, Wiseman forbad his having any wine. The man could not sleep, became sick and faint, and two days after his injuries, notwithstanding he had "good broths, caudles, and such like," the wounds were in an unhealthy state, and the patient had an attack of syncope. Wiseman then allowed him to have his wine, when the sickness went off, the wounds became healthy, and he was soon after cured. "You may laugh at my pleading for them" (stimulants), writes Wiseman, "but I hope you will consider I am a Water-drinker the while."¹

Wiseman's observations show that he considered very fully the influence of a patient's diathesis, mode of life, state of body, whether plethoric or anæmic, and other personal peculiarities, on the results of surgical operations and injuries, and that he always took such matters into account in the treatment adopted by him. "Concerning a general regiment of diet," he writes, "there ought to be special regard had of the constitution of the patient, whether he be hot or cold, dry or moist, old or young, tough or tender and washy." It would not be easy to apply some of these terms to modern phraseology, but no doubt the ideas conveyed by them were generally understood in Wiseman's time. He frequently points to the fact that in states of bodily disorder, ill conse-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 347.

quences, even in trifling wounds, may ensue ; while, "if the habit of body grows better disposed," under the administration of suitable remedies or by the "force of nature," good results may be anticipated. In one place he writes : "The Monument at Westminster of the young Lady holding up her Finger prickt with a Needle of which she died, may serve to show you that in ill Habits of body small Wounds are mortal." In some special ill habits of body, it is presumed, is what Wiseman meant.¹

It has not formed part of the design of this memoir to attempt anything of the nature of a review of the professional subjects embraced by the eight treatises of Wiseman, though an analysis of them, especially of his treatise on gunshot wounds, would contain many matters of interest. As regards their technical and scientific merit, a student need only compare Wiseman's treatises with the works at the disposal of English surgeons at the time Wiseman wrote—the works of Gale, Clowes, and Woodall, for example—when he will soon be aware of the great advance in surgical knowledge and its practical applications which is manifested in Wiseman's works. The fact that his book went through seven fresh editions in little more than half a century, and that only one of them, that of 1676, had the advantage of revision by the author—three of

¹ *Op. cit.*, edit. 1676, Bk. iv. p. 291. The use made of this illustration by Wiseman is rather slightly criticised by the late Dean Stanley. The Dean states that there was no truth in the story of the pricked finger on which Wiseman "argues seriously." A description of the monument in question, and some observations regarding it, will be found in the Appendix (see p. 201).

them, too, very costly editions in folio—shows that his work met an existing need at the time, and also proves how much it was appreciated by the surgeons of the period during which the several editions were issued.

The eight treatises of Wiseman comprise the principal diseases and injuries that commonly fall under the care and treatment of surgeons. Wounds of every variety, including gunshot wounds and burns from explosions, fractures and dislocations, tumours of all kinds, strumous disorders, and the different forms of venereal disease, are treated upon in them. The varieties of these injuries and disorders are described in clear and explicit language, and the advice given for their treatment is generally practical, and, on the whole, marked by much good sense and discretion. The cases he adduces in illustration of his remarks bear the stamp of truthfulness, without any artificial colouring in their narration. As an operating surgeon, Wiseman shows himself to have been bold, but at the same time prudent and cautious. In estimating his surgical skill and handiwork, the drawbacks under which all surgeons laboured at the time he practised should be always borne in mind. The backward state of all branches of science in his day, the want of nearly all the superior means and appliances which are now in common use, and the unfavourable influence of the social customs and domestic arrangements of the time on the results of surgical interference, owing to the prevailing ignorance in matters

of hygiene, should not be forgotten. It is extremely difficult indeed to form a full and complete notion or estimate of the difficulties under which surgeons laboured in the exercise of their profession in the seventeenth century. Old-established superstitions, and, in the Puritan days, even religious fanaticism, acted as impediments to surgical progress. Wiseman proved that he had strength of mind and resolution enough to ignore such impediments when he felt himself to be on sufficiently safe ground to warrant his acting in opposition to them. On one occasion, while travelling in the country, he was asked to visit a patient who a short time previously had put his shoulder out of joint. The dislocation was not readily reduced. Wiseman, in spite of the exclamations of the patient, continued his efforts to bring again the disconnected parts into their normal relations one with another, when a person present accused him before the patient of "striving against the Lord," and foretold the patient's death as a consequence. But Wiseman persevered, and happily not with the result which the alarmist had predicted, but with that which he and the patient had desired.¹ But on other occasions his views regard-

¹ "In the year 1657, whilst I was riding to a noble family in the North, I was desired upon the road to make a visit to a man who had some days before put his shoulder out of joint. . . . During the extension our patient roared, and one bone-setter called to me to forbear the extension, saying, Why will you strive against the Lord? and turned from us declaring that I would kill the man. But the head of the Humerus was then moving; upon which consideration I bid the man twist on; and at that instant the bone knapt in, and we loosened the bandage; then dressed it up, and put him to bed. There being little more required, I went on my journey."—*Op. cit.*, edit. 1676, p. 489.

ing surgical proceedings that might be adopted with probable success seem not to have been put to the test, owing to the state of public and professional opinion concerning them. Could he have relied on the support of his professional colleagues, he would have performed laparotomy in certain cases of abdominal wounds, with the intention of trying to repair whatever internal lesions might then be presented to his view, such as suturing wounds of the intestines (Edit. 1672, p. 77). Nothing could be stronger than his objections to the use of tents and other mechanical dilators for keeping wounds and sinuses open, but he excuses surgeons for employing them on account of the prevailing professional ideas on the subject.¹

In contrast with the generally practical nature of Wiseman's views on surgical disorders and their treatment is his apparent conviction of the efficacy of the royal touch for the cure of strumous disease. So far as his remarks in the treatise on the "King's evil," as he calls the disease, are to be relied upon, there would seem to be no room for doubting his faith in the mysterious cure of it by royal agency. He not only describes the process of cure by the King's touch, but refers to the great number of individuals who had recovered under the hands of both

¹ He describes the case of a man wounded by a rapier in the belly. Tents had been inserted, which he removed. "If the wound had been kept tented with long tents," he writes, "they might have stirred up inflammation, or the air might have altered the parts within," &c. "Yet if it be not done, the chirurgeon is usually condemned by common vogue; therefore it is that, against their own judgment, they keep them tented, often to the ruin of their patients."—*Op. cit.*, edit. 1672, p. 76.

Charles I. and Charles II. He even argues against the successful results having been due to change of air in travelling to the Court, to the effects of excitement, to faith in the influence of the gold medal given by the King on these occasions, and worn by the patients concerned as a sort of amulet or charm, or, indeed, to any other but superhuman influence.

At the same time, notwithstanding all that Wiseman wrote about the royal touch and its efficacy in curing disease, I think it may well be doubted whether he had any sincere belief in the proceeding. His conduct, when cases of strumous disease were presented to him for treatment, belies the supposition that he really held any such conviction. It is not recorded that in any instance he personally sent a patient to the King for cure. In cases of enlarged strumous glands, he sometimes prescribed topical applications for their relief, but often resorted to the use of the knife for their extirpation. Some of the operations performed by him on this account, remembering that the employment of anæsthetics was then unknown, were of a very formidable character. It appears to be inconsistent with the existence of a sincere conviction in the kingly power of removing the disease by a divinely transmitted gift, when such serious surgical proceedings were systematically resorted to for its cure. Wiseman mentions that in his time all sorts of ailments were called the King's evil;¹ and in the state of popular igno-

¹ "A poor woman brought to me a child diseased, as she was told, of the 'King's evil,' as, indeed, now-a-days every disease that appears

rance of the distinguishing characters of different disorders which prevailed, it may well be supposed that disorders of a very heterogeneous nature were brought to Court under this name. Many cases probably belonged to the class of nervous disorders, and there is no difficulty in understanding that in some of these instances the royal touch might effect a cure. Wiseman gives no example of a cure of decided strumous disease by the royal touch within his own observation, and as he was constantly in attendance on Charles II., he might readily have done so had such a case fallen under his notice.¹

It was, of course, quite consistent with the inmost convictions of Charles I. that he possessed this healing power. Such a belief would be only one article of the faith in the Divine guidance and authority of kings, which had been instilled into him from childhood by his father and teachers—a faith which influenced all his regal career, and which at last led to his own sacrifice on the altar

dangerous, or difficult of cure, is sent to us as the Evil," &c.—*Op. cit.*, edit. 1676, Obs. 7, p. 87, "Of the Thigh."

¹ The opportunity must surely have occurred, seeing the very large number of people relatively to the number of the population that, according to report, went through the process. A royal reception for the cure of the "Evil" at that time must have closely resembled one of the crowded levées at St. James's of the present day. The dates when the King would hold receptions were announced, just as the dates of levées are now. In a work entitled "The Healing Art," published by Ward & Downey in 1887, it is stated that between the years 1660 and 1682 Charles II. touched 92,107 sufferers, at a cost of £10,000 a year. The Form of Prayer used on these occasions was formerly among the prayers in "The Book of Common Prayer," and its insertion in the Prayer-Book was only discontinued after the accession of George I.

of political progress and party government. It is difficult to imagine, from the known character and conduct of Charles II., that he held a conviction of the sacredness of his person or of the agency in him of Divine inspiration, though assuming, perhaps as a matter of policy, the possession of the power of healing certain diseases. It was part of the political creed of the adherents of royalty that the power of healing was an hereditary gift confined to kings of strictly royal descent; and it is a matter of history that, later on, William III. gave offence to the Royalists by his open repudiation of any inspired endowment of the kind.¹ During the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II., if a Royalist disbelieved or doubted the efficacy of the royal touch, it would have been held to be a breach of faith to avow it. It was a political principle among all strict Royalists, in those days, that kings reigned by Divine right, and that the miraculous gift which had descended from Edward the Confessor was an heritage in the royal family that could only be transmitted to those upon whom the Divine prerogative had passed in due succession.

Wiseman, in the dedication of his work, addressed King Charles II. as "His Most Sacred Majesty."²

¹ It is recorded of William III. that, treating the assumption of a power to heal disease almost in the light of an imposture, he only once, in spite of repeated requests, could be induced to put the "royal touch" into practice; and that on that occasion, showing the feeling with which he regarded the proceeding, he said to the patient on whom he laid his hands, "God give thee better health," at the same time significantly adding, "and more sense."

² Wiseman's volume of "Chirurgicall Labours" is dedicated by him,

Knowing intimately, as Wiseman did, the private character of the King, many of his public acts, and the scandalous proceedings with which he was openly connected at his Court, it would be absurd to suppose that Wiseman believed in the King possessing any quality of sacredness; but to have denied or to have withheld the attribute would have been regarded as a disloyal act, tending to weaken the foundation on which the whole monarchical system at that time rested. He would have outraged the feelings of every member of the party to which he belonged if he had exhibited any doubt regarding the Divine character and authority of the King in his public capacity, notwithstanding the acknowledged immorality of his private conduct; and he would equally have been considered a renegade by his Royalist friends had he not been a supporter of the doctrine that the King had inherited the miraculous gift of power to heal scrofulous disorders among his subjects. He would have been a "betrayers of the royal cause," a "sighter of the King's prerogative." There may have been another influence which operated upon him in his declaration of the efficacy of the Royal Touch in the cure of the King's evil.

It may be readily imagined that Wiseman was not disinclined to retaliate on the Puritans of the Republican party for the humiliation and imprison-

in very large and conspicuous type, to "The Most Sacred Majesty of Charles II., King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c.," and is subscribed "His Majesties most faithful Servant and loyal Subject, Ri. Wiseman."

ment which they had caused him to undergo, by exalting the King's sacred character and special gifts. He felt bitterly against the "fanaticks," and maintaining the King's power of healing under Divine authority must have been at the time one of the strongest modes of indicating the enormity of the conduct of those who had not only been in open rebellion against the King, but in the end had not hesitated to put him publicly to a violent death. Altogether, how far, in writing on the efficacy of the royal touch for the cure of scrofula, Wiseman was expressing his real convictions on the subject, or how far he was maintaining doctrines which the political faith of his party and the established order of things rendered obligatory upon him in his official position under the Crown, is a subject-matter which quite admits of a difference of opinion.

That Wiseman was not altogether free from the superstitious influences of his time is sufficiently evident from his yielding to the custom, universally prevalent in those days, of frequently having recourse to what would now be styled "quack remedies." He prescribed many of the strange compounds as topical applications that in our day would only excite feelings of disgust. Their employment had descended from ancient times, but obviously they could not have possessed any special merit as remedies, unless owing to the fact that they were hallowed by their antiquity, and by the authority which they derived from the sanction of men who had been regarded as

sages in previous days, it may be supposed their employment was accompanied by the potent influence of a strong faith in their efficiency on the part of those to whom they were supplied. The efficacy of such remedies had become so firmly rooted in popular belief that it would probably have been regarded as heresy to have doubted their value in Wiseman's day, however difficult it might be to give a rational explanation of the particular virtues ascribed to them. But, in spite of the prejudices just mentioned, the bent of Wiseman's mind was essentially realistic and rational. Nearly all his recorded actions, as well as his professional management of the patients that fell under his care, exhibit the practical nature of his character, the excellence of his judgment, and not only his power of quickly discerning the true condition of matters in any case presented to him, but at the same time of determining straightway the best method of dealing with that condition according as its circumstances required.

He was ready enough to do without the complex dressings to the use of which he was habituated, to discard the various vulneraries then in vogue, and to resort to simpler measures on occasions of need. His observations show that he made no difficulty about finding substitutes for the usual applications, if, although apparently less suitable, they would meet the most urgent wants of a patient. His treatment of a wound of the head, accompanied by serious bleeding, under circumstances and at a time when not to have given the required attention would in

the eyes of some Royalists have seemed excusable, perhaps commendable, will serve as an example of his readiness of resource in the respects mentioned. Wiseman had just been made a prisoner as he was trying to escape, probably to the coast, after the battle of Worcester. He had been taken to Chester, and was no sooner there than he was brought under guard as a prisoner to see a captain of Parliamentary dragoons who was suffering from a sword-cut across the temple. The company of which the captain was in command had been pursuing and harassing a party of the Royalist forces in their flight—a party which it is probable Wiseman had accompanied—and one of the Royalists had wounded this officer in the part mentioned. According to Wiseman's account, the captain was bleeding almost to death. Wiseman had none of his usual cauteries or styptics at hand for stopping the bleeding, but he stitched up the wound, taking care to include the ends of the divided artery in one of the stitches through the lips of the wound, as he mentions he had often done before, and so arrested the flow of blood. In order to keep the cut surfaces and edges of the wound closely applied to one another, "from want of other remedies," as he says, on the spur of the moment he mixed some domestic flour, "wheat-meal," and the white of eggs together, and with this agglutinative paste, and the addition over it of a linen compress and bandage, he obtained the same result as if he had used an adhesive plaister. After three days a supply of ordinary dressings was pro-

cured from an apothecary at Warrington, and the impromptu applications being then removed, were replaced by others of a more regular kind. These are described in Wiseman's report of the case.¹

The spirit of frankness which pervades Wiseman's writings, and the absence of boasting and self-laudation, are very noticeable features in them. He omits no opportunity of loyally giving credit to the knowledge and ability of the physicians and surgeons with whom he is brought into consultation, or with whom he has to act in the course of his practice. Quacks and illiterate pretenders to knowledge are alone decried by him. He describes cases in which the results of his proceedings were unsuccessful as unreservedly as he does those in which success attended his efforts. He relates his observations not merely with the purpose of affording information respecting the methods of treatment which his own experience had taught him to consider the safest and most advantageous, but also with a view to indicate the directions in which improvements are wanting. In following this course, he is acting on principles which he has deliberately adopted for guides to his conduct. "I think it no disgrace," he writes, "to let the world see where I failed of success, that those

¹ This case is described both in the edition of 1672 and in that of 1676, but the fact of his being "brought as a prisoner" to the wounded officer is only mentioned in the edition of 1672. Wiseman describes his patient as "one Smith, sometime a Tanner in Chester, but afterwards a Captain of a Company of Dragoons, which he pickt up in haste, to disturb us in our Retreat [Flight, edit. 1672] from the Battel of Worcester."—*Op. cit.*, edit. 1672, Part i. p. 89, "Of Wounds in the Head;" and edit. 1676, Bk. v. ch. ix. p. 378.

who come after me may learn what to avoid, there being more of instructiveness often in an unfortunate case than in a fortunate one.”¹

Wiseman not only exercised an important influence on English surgery by his efforts to make its practice dependent on scientific principles, but at the same time he raised the position of its practitioners in general estimation. A change for the better, but a comparatively slight one, had already commenced in the social status of surgeons at the time Wiseman lived and practised. Surgeons were joining together in closer union as a fraternity—were consolidating their strength—were adding to their knowledge by the establishment of anatomical dissections and lectures on surgical practice at Barber-Surgeons’ Hall—were demanding higher education in their apprentices, and in other ways were trying to gain a more honourable standing as a professional body than they had previously possessed. They had long been kept in a state of subserviency to the more highly educated and more learned fraternity of the Doctors of Medicine. The surgeons were now trying to throw off this yoke, and to acquire, by means of superior charters, independence of the physician’s domination. So long as the Cromwellian authority was all-powerful, and Wiseman was under the ban of having formed part of the entourage of Charles II., and of having participated in the military operations under the King in Scotland and in the final conflict at Worcester,

¹ *Op. cit.*, edit. 1676. See Preface, p. 13.

he could do little more than remain quiet. History shows that after the battle of Worcester any one who had served under the King who presumed to put himself prominently forward, but especially if he were heard incautiously to express views unfavourable to Cromwell's government, did so under the greatest risk of being betrayed and imprisoned, if not more severely dealt with; and it is a sufficient proof of Wiseman's prudence and sagacity that he was permitted to pursue his professional avocations in London without interruption up to the time when, unfortunately for himself, he became involved in the affair of the prisoner Read. But although Wiseman could do little under the Republican government publicly to promote the interests of the Company of Surgeons of which he was a member, he silently advanced them by the high personal character, talents, and rectitude of conduct which distinguished him, and which he maintained throughout his professional career. The eminent position he held as a surgeon is sufficiently shown by the frequency with which he was called into consultation by the leading physicians of his day. The names mentioned in his "Observations" include those who stood highest in estimation in the College of Physicians. The publication of his volume of treatises must have greatly helped to raise the practitioners of surgery out of the disrepute in which they had been held by comparison with the respect paid to the physicians. They showed that a cultivated and scientific education and special

study were as essential for a good surgeon as for a good physician, if his profession were to be put into practice with well-grounded confidence and precision, and with a rational prospect of success in results. The precepts inculcated in them were calculated to excite in the minds of surgeons a sense of the importance of the interests intrusted to them, and to prove to them the necessity for keeping pace with the progress that was being made in the allied sciences of pathology, anatomy, and physiology, as well as in the construction of mechanical appliances subservient to surgical art. There is the strongest ground for believing that the remarkable advance which took place in England in surgery in the century after Wiseman's death was largely traceable to the fact of his writings having been so widely diffused as they were toward the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries.

After the Restoration of Charles II. had taken place, Wiseman must have been a very influential member of the Barber-Surgeons' Company, and it is much to be regretted that the records of the Company at this period are not available for reference. His position at Court, and the prestige of his services and character, must have enabled him greatly to promote the interests of the Company. His influence in this direction would probably be in a great measure exerted privately and without much show. Under any circumstances it was not likely to be made so manifest as it might otherwise have been if his weak state of health and repeated attacks

of illness had not hindered him from taking an active part in the public and social meetings of the Company.

Wiseman's devotion to his humane and noble profession, his useful and beneficent life, and the moral tone which pervades his writings, are features in his character and history to which our thoughts can turn with unmixed satisfaction in the midst of the turmoil and violence of the troubled time in which he lived. On reading the state of England at the period with which Wiseman's career is identified, no one, I imagine, can avoid being impressed with feelings of surprise and aversion at the almost barbarous absence of humane sentiments which seems to have characterised all classes at that time; and this surprise is excited less by the acts of cruelty which were perpetrated—for such incidents are common to all revolutionary periods—than by the cold-hearted apathy with which barbarities of the most coarse and repulsive description seem to have been commonly regarded. This remarkable indifference is noticeable not only in public and official reports of passing events, and in the current discussions and comments upon them, but also in private correspondence. The pervading callousness of feeling was not confined to any political class. Nothing can be more revolting, even when allowance is made for his position and motives, than the wholesale slaughter, by Cromwell's orders, of the inhabitants of besieged places in Ireland, including women and children as well as men, during the war carried on

by him in that country, unless the unconcerned manner in which the actions of the troops are remarked upon in the official reports and writings of the day may be regarded as still more discreditable and hateful. Some of the executions and punishments of the adherents to the cause of the Stuarts in England, under Cromwell's instructions, were equally abhorrent. In like manner, among the Royalists after the Restoration, the instances of almost savage retaliation on some of the surviving agents of the Cromwellian party—the horrible exhumation and degrading public exhibition of the corpses of some of their leaders, and the repulsive exposure of their heads at Westminster Hall to the gaze of every passer-by—sufficiently indicate how low the general state of moral development was, as well in those who could order such atrocities as in the multitude who could take part in them, or even witness them, with seeming indifference or approval. The fact that there were men exceptionally distinguished for learning in the arts and in literature at the time by no means refutes the existence of a prevailing grossness of manners and moral feeling. Even a person of such enlightened views, amiable disposition, and good breeding as Mr. Evelyn is described to have been records in his well-known Diary how he met the bodies of four of the Commonwealth leaders, who had just been executed, divided into quarters; how he looked on them, in his own words, “mangled and reeking as they were brought from the gallows in baskets on

the hurdles ;” and all this without a remark showing repugnance at the sight.¹ Evelyn describes the corpses of Cromwell, Bradshawe, and Ireton being dragged out of their superb tombs in Westminster Abbey and hanged on the gallows at Tyburn from nine o’clock in the morning until six o’clock in the evening, “thousands of people who had seen them in all their pride being spectators,” with only an exclamation on the marvellous judgments of God.² And Pepys notes in his Diary, under date of October 13, 1660, that he went to see Major-General Harrison hanged, drawn, and quartered at Charing Cross, and adds, that after he was cut down, “his head and heart were shown to the people, at which there were great shouts of joy.” Such records afford striking pictures of the butcheries which were taking place in Wiseman’s time, and of the general bluntness of feeling regarding them. And when we turn aside from them, and observe the steady perseverance of Wiseman in his exertions for the relief of suffering, his zealous efforts for the improvement of professional knowledge, notwithstanding his own weak condition of health, we cannot but feel that his well-spent life forms a bright and pleasant contrast with the heartlessness and political animosity by which he was surrounded.

Two portraits of Wiseman are known to be in existence—one at Belvoir Castle, and the other among the collection of paintings at the Royal College of Surgeons in London.

¹ Diary, 17th October 1660.

² *Op. cit.*, 30th January 1661.

The engraving which forms the frontispiece to this Memoir is copied from a miniature in water colours by the eminent portrait-painter, Samuel Cooper.¹ It is one among a collection of miniatures at Belvoir Castle² in the possession of the Duke of Rutland, to whose courtesy I was indebted for permission to have a photograph taken of the picture.³ The following words are inscribed on the back of the handsome gold case in which the miniature is set:—"Richardus Wiseman Carolo II. Mag. Brit. Regi Archichirurgus." It was hardly correct to describe Wiseman as being the principal surgeon to Charles II. at the time this portrait was painted, which, as we learn from the date painted in minute figures on the front of the portrait, was the year 1660. Wiseman then held the appointment of personal surgeon to the sovereign, but, as shown elsewhere, as many as twelve years elapsed after that date before he became promoted to be principal surgeon. The Archichirurgus may have been a sort of courtesy title given by the painter, but it may also

¹ Samuel Cooper was born in London in 1609, and died there in 1672. He painted miniatures of Charles II. and of many of the principal members of his Court. One of his best known portraits is that of Oliver Cromwell; an engraving of it is prefixed to Carlyle's "Letters and Speeches of Cromwell," in 4 vols. 8vo, Lond. 1850. Samuel Cooper has been called the Vandyke of miniature painters. Pepys, whose wife's portrait he painted, styles him "the great limner in little," and, with his usual attention to details, mentions in one part of his Diary the price he paid the artist for the picture and case; for the miniature, £30, and for the chrystal and gold case £8, 3s. 4d. (Diary, August 10, 1668.)

² In the Elizabeth Saloon. See "The History of Belvoir Castle," by the Rev. Irvin Eller. London: Robert Tyas, 1841, p. 308.

³ The photograph of this miniature was taken by Mr. Broadhead of Leicester. The engraving has been executed from this photograph.

have happened that the name and title were inscribed on the back of the miniature at some time after it was painted, not improbably after Wiseman's death. Adjoining the figures of the date on the front of the picture in a sort of cipher are the initials of the painter. Wiseman is represented in the picture as wearing a dark brown velvet coat and waistcoat, a colour very nearly corresponding with the colour of his eyes and eyebrows, and also with that of the hair of his head or wig. This miniature was evidently painted some years before the portrait which is among the collection of paintings belonging to the Royal College of Surgeons in London. The portrait at Belvoir Castle presents the general aspect of a person of about forty years of age, and of a much more sturdy frame than Wiseman appears to have had at the time when the larger painting in the College of Surgeons was executed.

The painting of Wiseman in the collection at the Royal College of Surgeons of England is on a larger scale. It was presented to the Corporation of Surgeons by Dr. Stukely in May 1753, and is supposed to have been executed by Sir Balthazar Girbier.¹

¹ Mr. Bailey, the Librarian of the College, has been good enough to enable me to inspect the following entry in a book containing a list of donations to the College :—"3rd May, 1753, Dr. Stukely gave a portrait of Serjeant Wiseman, *supposed by Mr. Long to be painted by Sir Philip Girbier.*" The name Sir Philip Girbier is obviously an error for Sir Balthazar Girbier. The part of the entry here printed in italics has been added, judging from the appearance of the ink with which the words are written, since the original entry. The autotype portrait in the *Asclepiad* before alluded to is an admirable representation on a small scale of the original picture. The painting of Wiseman was lent by the College to the first Exhibition of National Portraits in 1866 at

The painting is limited to the bust, and is 29 by 24 inches in size. It represents Wiseman when he was apparently about fifty years old or upwards, but the face is without moustache or beard, and being framed, as it were, by one of the flowing wigs in vogue at the time of Charles II., it is difficult to estimate with precision his age at the time the portrait was taken. He is wearing a small white collar and a dark-coloured cloak. The features are hardly such as might be expected of a person who had lived with the violent companions and had passed through the rough experiences which Wiseman had encountered during his service on board ships of war in the Dutch and Spanish navies, or of one who had been subjected to the exposures and hardening circumstances of the campaigns in which he had taken part on shore. The painting represents a face of highly refined lineaments, marked by a staid, thoughtful expression. The mouth exhibits resolution of purpose, but there is not a line in the face indicative of austerity or bluntness of feeling. It is the presentment of a cultivated gentleman; of one who, even if we did not possess sufficient evidence of the kindness of his character in his

South Kensington. Girbier, its alleged painter, seems to have been a very eccentric character. He was born at Antwerp about 1591, came to England in 1613, and was knighted by Charles I. in 1628. In an account of him printed in the Catalogue of the portraits exhibited in 1866, it was stated that Walpole described him as "architect, author, lecturer, diplomatist, quack," alluding to the various capacities in which he had been employed. There is a very fine picture of Girbier and his family by Rubens at Windsor Castle. His death occurred in 1667.

published writings, might well be imagined from this portrait to have been a man deeply imbued with sympathy for the sufferers under his care even when performing the trying and severe duties that frequently devolved on him as a surgeon, and who, acting with singleness of purpose, above all things kept the welfare of his patients in view as the main object of his professional life.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX I.

RECORDS CONCERNING RICHARD WISEMAN, SERJEANT-SURGEON, PRESERVED IN STATE PAPERS.

1. 1660, June 8.—Richard Wiseman appointed “Surgeon in Ordinary for the Person.”

[*Etabl't. Books, Lord Chamb. Records, Public Record Office.*]

2. 1661, June (?).—“Petition of Richard Wiseman to the King for leave to wait as a Surgeon in the place of Hum. Painter, who is ill, and to succeed him, with the same title of Sergeant-Surgeon, but with his present allowances. He was the only surgeon who attended His Majesty (as Prince) from Bristol to the West, Scilly, Jersey, France, Holland, and Scotland, and thence to the battle of Worcester, where he was taken prisoner; he was sworn second surgeon at the Restoration, but his attendance became void on admission of two serjeant-surgeons extraordinary, and one to the household.”

[*Calendar of State Papers, Reign of Charles II., Domestic Series.*]

Note.—The foregoing petition of Richard Wiseman to be in waiting as Surgeon to the King during the illness of Humphrey Painter, and to succeed him as Serjeant-Surgeon, Mr. Cartwright, Secretary to the Public Record Office, informs me is undated. The editor of the Calendar assigned the date of June 1661 to it.

3. 1661, June.—“Grant to Richard Wiseman of a pension of £150.”

[*Docquet.*]

4. 1661, August 5th.—“Grant to Richard Wiseman of the office of one of the King’s Surgeons, void by the death of Michael Andrews; fee £40 a year.”

[*Docquet.*]

5. 1666, April 30.—Barber-Surgeons’ Hall, 107. Ri. Wiseman and Thos. Hollier¹ to Lord Arlington. Had they known Mr. Solby’s² grievance two months ago, they might have helped him off with his medicines on hand, but now most of the Surgeons have gone to their ships.

[*Calendar of State Papers, 1666.*]

6. 1671–2, Feb. 15th.—Warrant appointing Richard Wiseman Serjeant-Surgeon to the King, in place of Humphry Painter, deceased.

[*Home Office Records, Public Record Office.*]

7. 1674–5, Feb. 5th.—Warrant granting to Richard Wiseman a pension of £150 a year for life, payable quarterly, to commence as from the 25th of March 1671–2, the day on which he was sworn in as Serjeant-Surgeon. (In this warrant Wiseman is styled “our Principall Chirurgion and our Serjeant Chirurgion.”)

[*Home Office Records, Public Record Office.*]

¹ Thomas Hollier was associated with Wiseman when he was Master in 1665 as one of the Wardens of the Barber-Surgeons’ Company, and a few years subsequently, in 1673, Hollier himself held the office of Master.

² The Mr. Solby here mentioned seems to have been a person of influence at Court. The King had recommended him to the Barber-Surgeons’ Company for a life appointment of Purveyor of Drugs for use of the navy and army. The following entry is calendared among the State Papers on this subject:—

“Jan. 24. Whitehall, 1662.—The King to the Company of Barber-Surgeons of London: Recommends them to appoint George Solby, his sworn

8. 1674, August 4th.—Letter from the Earl of St. Alban's, Lord Chamberlain, ordering board wages to be paid to "Mr. Serjeant Wiseman."

[*Lord Chamb. Records, Establt. Books, Public Record Office.*]

9. 1675-6, Feb. 1st.—

Richard Pyle	}	Serjeant-Surgeons.
John Knight		
Richard Wiseman		

[*Lord Chamb. Warrt. Book, 745, p. 350, Public Record Office.*]

Apothecary, to provide fitting medicaments for Chests to be used in the service, by sea and land, at reasonable rates, and to take care that none other be appointed thereto during his life" (Ent. Books 3, p. 22, and 4, p. 91).

APPENDIX II.

RECORDS CONCERNING RICHARD WISEMAN, SERJEANT-SURGEON, PRESERVED AMONG THE ANNALS OF THE BARBER-SURGEONS' COMPANY.

1. Entry in the accounts of the Wardens of the Company for the year beginning 28th August 1636 and ending 17th August 1637 of the fee received for binding Richard Wiseman apprentice to Richard Smith:—

“Of Richard Smith, Surgian, for Richard Wiseman, ij^s vj^d.”

2. Record of Wiseman's admission to the freedom of the Barber-Surgeons' Company on the 23rd of March 1651:—

“Ričus Wiseman App'nticius Riči Smith Chir̃ admišs. ꝥ S'viciū xxij die Martiæ 1651.”

3. Record of Wiseman being Master of the Barber-Surgeons' Company:—

1665. Richard Wiseman, Serjeant-Surgeon, Master of the Barber-Surgeons' Company.

[*Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London*, p. 9.]

APPENDIX III.

RECORDS CONCERNING RICHARD WISEMAN, SERGEANT-SURGEON, IN THE CLARENDON PAPERS.

1. From John Trethewy, dated Rouen, 16th Nov. 1647, S^o N^o to Edgeman at St. Lo:—

“ . . . M. Clotterbooke, yo^r nephew W. and my brother L. presente their service to you. . . .”

[*Calendar of Clarendon Papers*, vol. i.
p. 321.]

ROUEN, October 6th

2. Sr.

1648.

Just as I was wrightinge a longe apologie to yo^u this of y^e 2^d of october came to my hands & in it I found one so pithy & excellently pennd y^t fayth I could not but returne it yo^u againe.

My deare vnckle

I beleive I neede not make any apologie y^t I haue not wright to yo^u all this while, yo^u doe find soe greate a conueniency by being rid of my troublesome prattle, yet I hope my vnckles lrës haue testified at large to yo^u my respects, w^{ch} seriously yo^u should sooner haue rec^d from my one hands had not Dr. Winston delayed me by his promises to wright to Mr. Chancell^r w^{ch} yo^u shall heare of y^e next weeke & in y^e meane time I will trouble yo^u wth a narration of my business at St. Germans.

The first thinge I did was to p^rsent Mr. Harding wth my Lords and Mr. Chancell^{rs} lrës, At y^e receipt of them he seemed verie ciuill to me, & promist largely But he was to

L

much Courtyer for me yet through y^e Princes royall disposition & y^e assistance of Mr. Prodger I spake wth his highness. he told me that he remembred his promise to me & so soone as it laye in his power to performe it he would, & indeede he was very ciuill to me.

For the courte its nothinge but faction Sr. Ed: Stowell he comes not neare it, nor indeede theirs no place for such as he is. Collneⁿ Hamer, Tho: Johnson, & diuers others of y^t qualitie remembred yoⁿ often Mr. Lightfoot is y^e same man yoⁿ comēded him to bee: soe farr as I can perceiue Sr Ed. Hyde is as well beloued theire as any sometimes I haue dranke his Health in good company & indeede neuer heard any speake vnciuill of him except too of y^e Clergie who take liberty to abuse all the world. Mr. Heath & Nic: Bowden fryday 7 night whent frō hence to England but before ye whent wee was very merry together, they desier to be comēded to yoⁿ. I should now inlarge but I heare y^e Audit^l calling me, I know not what y^r liquors was, but I am sure I haue hardly yet seene him sober

I am

Deare vncle

y^r verie affectionat seruant

R. W.

Y^r deare friend Mr. Gatford is at Lon: and confidently wrights to me to excuse his not writinge to yoⁿ.

Addressed:—

ffor my very worthy freind
William Edgman Esq^r
At St. Loe.

Endorsed:—

M. Wiseman Oct. 6.
1648.

Immaterial

[*Calendar of Clarendon Papers*, vol. i.
p. 441.]

3. From J(ohn) Cl(otterbooke), Rouen, 9th Aprill 1649, "ffor my very assured friend Mr. Edgman, at the Haghe:"—

"Yoⁿ must not faile to comend my service to Mr. Trethewy, Mr. Wattson and that arch Grumbler Mr. Wiseman, and tell him I wish I were as neare to his elbow as some body is, for then he should feele me though I cannot heare him, nor any Newes of him but I have learnt a greate deale of patience since I came hither, & soe I'll say no more."

[*Calendar of Clarendon Papers*, vol. ii.
p. 6.]

4. From R. W(atson) to (Edgeman), Hague, June 6, 1649:—

"... present my humble duty to Mr. Chancellor, my kind respects to Mr. Hurman, honest Richard and very particularlie to all my L. Treas. servants . . ."

[*Calendar of Clarendon Papers*, vol. ii.
p. 14.]

5. From R. W(atson) to Edgeman at St. Germain:—

"Breda, Aug. 25, 1649.

"My due respects I pray to y^e reverend Deane of Elie [William Beale] My love to Mr. Hurman & Honest Dicke must not be forgot."

[*Calendar of Clarendon Papers*, vol. ii.
p. 19.]

6. Mr. J. T(rethewy) writes in a postscript to a letter dated Jersey $\frac{4}{14}$ No: 1649, directed to Mr. William Edgeman in Madrid:—

"Yo^r nephew, my Bro. &c are still yo^r humble servants."

NOTE.—Dr. Hoskins, vol. ii. p. 347, mentions that Mr. J. Trethewy held some office at Court. He appears to have married Edgeman's sister. Lewis Trethewy was one of the Duke of Gloucester's servants, and was probably the brother alluded to. Mr. Clotterbooke, to whom Mr. J. T. desires specially his "affectionate service" in the body of the letter, must have then been with Sir Edward Hyde at Madrid as well as Edgeman.

7. From J(ohn) T(rethewy), for Mr. William Edgman, Secretary to his Ex^{cie} the Lord Ambassado^r Hyde, at Madrid:—

“BREDa, 5 May 1650, s:n:

“My deare Brother . . . My Bro: Watson writes his own mynd. But Wiseman grumbles that all of you have forgotten to send him good Lancett you may doe well to please him for he is in great favour with the Presbyt: and when you come into Scotland, he may be able to requite yo^r kindness however he and I and Mr. Johnson make a shift to drinke Mr. Clotterbooks and yo^r healths. . . .”

[*Calendar of Clarendon Papers*, vol. ii.
p. 57.]

8. From J. T(rethewy), Breda, 1^o Junij 1650 s^o n^o to (Edgeman):—

“My Bro. Watson is with 386 and so is my Brother I shall returne to them very shortly. Wiseman, Barker, Chiffinch,¹ cum multis aliis will be angry if I neglect the p^rsentment of their service to you and Mr. Clotterbooke.”

[*Calendar of Clarendon Papers*, vol. ii.
p. 61.]

¹ Mr. Thomas Chiffinch or Chiffin is mentioned in Chevalier's MS. Journal. He was in the Prince's suite on his first visit to Jersey, and was then a “page of the back stayers.” After the Restoration he became Keeper of the Jewels to the King, Keeper of the King's Closet, Purveyor of Treasures and Curiosities to His Majesty, and a Comptroller of the Excise. Pepys mentions under date of 8th April 1666, that he died rather suddenly on that day, it was thought of an “imposthume in his breast,” but hints that it looked fearfully like the plague. Evelyn also refers to him in his Diary. He mentions his dining with him at his house-warming in St. James's Park on 28th November 1661, and says that he had his house full of pictures. He spells his name Chiffing. Among Evelyn's correspondence is a letter without date from him to T. Chiffing, Esq., offering to assist him in making a catalogue of the King's treasures and curiosities. He had been in the service of Charles I. before he went abroad to Charles II. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, where there is a monument to his memory. He was in the sixty-sixth year of his age at the time of his death.

9. From J(ohn) T(rethewy), Utrecht, $\frac{2}{12}$ July 1650, to Mr. William Edgeman, at Madrid :—

“My dear Brother,

“ . . . You have already been informed How His Mat^{tie} went to sea from before Trehay neere Skiueling upon Sunday $\frac{2}{12}$ Junij and the first certaine wee had of him was a letter to

W i s e man

me from my good Brother 40, 23, 37, 44, 215, 103, 77, whoe went a shore at Junengen (not farr from the holy Island) being as I conceive a little towne in Holsteine, where he and Mr. Johnson hugg’d themselves for that oportunity, and, as he says, drank o’ healths very heartely.”

[*Calendar of Clarendon Papers*, vol. ii.
p. 67.]

10. From Richard Watson, Bruges, 20 Feb. 1652, to Mr. Edgeman¹ (no address):—

“ . . . I wonder whether our poor brother Wiseman have obtained his libertie. . . .”

[*Calendar of Clarendon Papers*, vol. ii.
p. 121.]

11. From R. Watson, Bruges, June 25, 1652, to Mr. Edgeman² (no address):—

“ . . . You have done y^e part of a true friend unto my bro: Wiseman by engaging Mr. Chancellor in his behalfe. I finde him much afflicted wth his missefortune at Court though he hath had little from me beside an intimation in general, nor shall his importunitie prevaile for any particular that may reflect to your prejudice whom I have not named, though he hath yo^u in his last to me and also Mr. Cheffinch

¹ Sir E. Hyde was at this time in Paris, laid up with the gout; no doubt his secretary, Edgeman, was with him.

² Mr. Edgeman was with Sir E. Hyde at Paris at this date.

from both he hopes for all information desired wherein you may send me instructions, w^{ch} shall be punctually observed. He hath practice enough to imploy him in London, yet I could wish him for his own sake as well as yo^{rs} or mine where he was [in former days]. He co^mands me to salute you very kindlie from him. I pray obtaine somewhat of comfort for him, and send it me in yo^r next. . . .”

[*Calendar of Clarendon Papers*, vol. ii.
p. 139.]

12. From R. Watson, Bruges, August 15, 1652, to Mr. William Edgeman, St. Germain:—

“ . . . From R. Wiseman I receiv’d a short letter this weeke but not one word in it expressing his coming over. I dispatched to him what yoⁿ writ concerning him and desir’d him seriouslie to consider of it. . . .”

[*Calendar of Clarendon Papers*, vol. ii.
p. 143.]

13. From R. Watson, Bruges, August 29, 1652, to Edgeman:—

“ For yo^r good selfe ” (without address).

“ . . . Our Br: Wiseman is well & in good practice at London yet will leave all to waite upon his great Master when sent for and not before, to that purpose he hath endeavour’d wth might and maine to be delivered from his baile, wth what successe I know not. I pray let me know in yo^r next whether he may expect a su^mons, or be assur’d of a welcome if he goes without one, & a subsistence into y^e bargaine, for he depends much upon my direction in disposing of himselfe & I would faine have him with yⁿ. . . .”

[*Calendar of Clarendon Papers*, vol. ii.
p. 146.]

14. Calendar, vol. ii. p. 232.

R. Watson, Wesel, July 29, 1653, to Edgeman (no address).

“ . . . It will be some discouragement to my br: Wiseman to returne to Court, if he heare J. Bolen have forestall'd his practice except y^u can finde enough for bothe. . . .”

15. Calendar, vol. ii. p. 363. Copy by Hyde [May 1654].

“Though I haue directed none particularly to your selfe, yett I alwayes thought I writt to you, whatsoeuer I sayd to your partner, and that all accounts had been ioyntly perused by you, I have sene your letters to your frends and like your opinion very well and therefore you may be confident I will follow your counsell, and you may very safely assure your Creditors, that I will proceede very iustly with them in the castinge up ther accounts, for I am sure they have dealte very honestly: I neede say nothinge to you of my kindnesse to you which you can never suspecte, beinge so constante your selfe, which will make you alwayes believe me to be very heartily

your

WISEMAN.”

APPENDIX IV.

RECORDS CONCERNING RICHARD WISEMAN, SERGEANT-SURGEON, FROM THE THURLOE PAPERS.

1. Colonel Barkstead, Lieutenant of the Tower, to
Secretary Thurloe.

Sir,

I earnestly desire your care of those twoe papers I delivered you yesterday. I am very confident of the honesty of my warder, and have therefore permitted him to goe once more to mr. Wiseman with the small note from Read, the coppie of which is inclosed. His returne will not bee till betweene one or twoe. What Wiseman returnes, I shall, as soone as I have taken a coppie, send it to you, and then desire your further directions. The warder tould mr. Read that he thought mr. Wiseman as himselfe were mistaken in dateing his letters the 13th of February; he told him noe; what was done now should have beene performed that time.

I am,

Sir, your affectionate friend and servant

JO. BARKSTEAD.

TOWER, LONDON, 14th March 1654.

Wiseman was chirurgeon to sir Ralph Hopton from the beginning of the warre, and was by him about 7 or 8 years since recomended to Charles Stuart to be chirurgeon to his body, was taken at Worcester, and afterwards getting away hath lived in the Old Bayley at the signe of the King's-head, ever since in great practise.

2. Deare sir,

My service to all. Mr. Nedd G. is well and all the rest. Believe me, that I am not timorously fearfull, but a providentiall care you believe ought to be alwayes prepared

for, especially by mee, whoe am subject to such extreme fitts of the collicke, and other diseases, that now in health I ought to prepare against sicknesse, if it should attempt to assease on me. It is the councell of the Wiseman, but now that you and my good freind are acquainted by whome I received the £5 I am much at rest. I receive not only a cordiall by him, but that which is better then any phisicke, which is, that you are confident my disease in the head will be cured, without entring into a course of phisicke, which I am heartily glad of, and pray for it, as for my owne soule. I pray you informe me how the health is of all freinds, and what else you thinke fitt to be imparted to

your servant for ever.

14th Feb. 1654.

J. B.

A true coppie taken by
Richard Barton.

Addressed, "These to y^o much hon^{red} John
Thurloe, Esq^r, Secre^{ry}
to his Highness y^e
Lord Protector."

Endorsed by Thurloe: "Coll. Barkstead, Tower, London, 14 March 165⁴/₅. Concerning y^e honesty of his warder, as also concerning Mr. Wiseman."

[*Rawl. MS. A. 24—Birch's Thurloe Papers*, vol. iii. p. 243.]

3. The case of Richard Wiseman, chirurgion, now prisoner in Lambeth-house, truly stated.

Humbly presented unto the consideration of the honorable John Thurloe, esquire, Secretary of State.

Sheweth

That about a fortnight before Christmas, I undertook the cure of Mr. Read, now prisoner in the Tower, and at the time of his comitment had welnigh perfected it. That some three or four days after Read's confinement in the Tower, he

sent for me by one Steeres a warder, to dresse him, which I declined, and only ordred my servant to send him some emplaister; but he not being satisfied therewith, the next day by the said Steeres sent me a note, earnestly pressing me to go to him, which I totally declined, and had continued that resolution had not the said warder afterwards earnestly pressed me thereto, telling me that I had the lieutenant's leave, and that it was very usuall, and the like; whereupon I promised, and the next day accordingly I did goe to the Tower, and was by the said Steeres conducted to Mr. Read, did dresse him and had some common discourse with him in the presence and hearing of the said Steeres, and at my departure was desired by Mr. Read to receive some money for him of Sir Thomas Mackworth that was indebted to him, with order to retaine it in my hands for his use; which I was the rather induced to doe in order to my satisfaction for my cure, Mr. Read being a prisoner to whome I had no obligation. That I was not with him above four times, and only in relation to his cure, and that I once sent my servant with emplaister and pills, touching which I supposed both myselfe and servant had given the lieutenant of the Tower satisfaction when we were first examined and by him dismiss, to which I must referre. That upon my returne home I applied myselfe only to my calling and practice, not soe much as suspecting any further trouble or discourse about Read, or anything in relation to the State. But contrary to my expectation, upon the 12th of March the said Steeres brought me a note from Read, which he said required privacy, whereupon reading it I was soe extreemely surprized, that I scarce knewe what to doe or say; but recollecting myselfe I asked Steeres if he was resolved to carry Mr. Read away, who answered Yes. At which my passion greatly increased, and I demanded of him why Mr. Read should send him to me? I had no obligation to him at all; I had taken much paines in curing him, and was yet unsatisfied; further telling him that Mr. Read had put me to too much trouble, and brought me under a suspect already, and therefore for my part I was

resolved not to hazard my liberty any further in relation to him. Then Steeres desired me to advise him; I asked him if he apprehended no hazard in the attempting an escape; he told me, Yes. I wisht him to have a care what he did, for for my part he had soe surprised my senses with the verie mention of it that I could not tell what to advise; but if he would come the next day at twelve of the clocke I would consider of it, and advise him. Whereupon the said Steeres (as is evident) having designed by all means possible to ensnare me, began to enquire of me of newes. Whereupon I told him what was reported touching the rising at Salisbury, which I had from common fame and printed papers, and not by reason of any particuler knowledge of the designe. Then the said Steeres prest me to write to Mr. Read, which I often denied, but at length to be rid of his importunity I delivered him £5 which I had received for Mr. Read, and on a small peice of paper I writ (as I remember) thus; Sir, those paines you complaine of will easily discusse, and so will that paine in your head, without the taking a course of phisicke; and so without setting my name to it I gave it him, saying there was an answer to soe much of the noate as concerned me. Whereupon he departed, leaving me to my consideration, which was as followeth: 1. I considered, if Steeres should carry away Read, I having beene under a former question, should still lye under suspect, if not be troubled by the lieutenant. 2. That they might be taken, and then their confession would render me guilty. 3. That if on the other side I should discover their intention to the lieutenant, although it would cleere me, yet it would prejudice me in my practice which was my livelyhood.

Thus finding myselfe ensnared, I was at a losse how to gett out of the toyle; at last I resolved not to have to doe in the business, and accordingly when Steeres came I advised him to cheere Read up, and to let the law take its course, positively telling him I would have nothing to doe with him or the business; and therefore forbad him any more to come to my house; further saying, when I had any busines with

him I would send for him. But the said Steeres, in further prosecution of his designe to ensnare me, would not be satisfied but that I must write to Mr. Read, otherwise he pretended it would not be believed he had beene with me. Whereupon I wrote upon a peice of paper; Sir, this peice of implaister will, I hope, finish this cure, and so I shall not trouble you further: I am your servant, R. Wiseman. And that the contents of these two noates are all that ever passed betwixt the said Read and myselfe upon any account since he hath beene my patient or before, I doe call the great God to witnes, and shall venture my life upon that issue, whatever great crimes are suggested against me by the designers of my ruine.

That since my imprisonment, the said Steeres hath beene with me to prosecute his designe, although his declarations in the hearing of credible persons tended to my cleering; the particulers whereof are too long here to insert, but in due time will be produced.

That I have been about a moneth a prisoner, have totally lost my practice, and my family must submit to an irrecoverable ruine if this imprisonment be continued upon me as a punishment for a fayling into which I was designedly drawne; although I have cause to hope that my ignorance in concealing a pretended, but never intended, designe, shall not be made use of to my ruine; neither that upon suppositions grounded upon my former relations I shall be concluded guilty.

I therefore most humbly pray your honour to take the premisses into your serious consideration; and that, if it stand with your wisdom, I may be freed from this chargeable restraint upon security, as well to answer any crime that can legally be proved against me as that I shall doe nothing to the publike prejudice

For which I shall pray

RI. WISEMAN.

[*Rawl. MS. A. 25—Birch's Thurloe Papers,*
vol. iii. p. 407.]

APPENDIX V.

RECORDS CONCERNING HUMPHRY PAINTER, SERGEANT-SURGEON, PRESERVED IN STATE PAPERS.

1. 1660-1, March.—Grant to Humphry Painter of the office of Principal Surgeon and Sergeant-Surgeon: fee £26, 6s. 8d.

[*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic,*
1660-1.]

2. 1660-1, March.—Grant to the same of a pension of £150.

[*Docquet Book*, p. 97.]

APPENDIX VI.

RECORDS CONCERNING HUMPHREY PAINTER, SERGEANT-SURGEON, FROM THE ANNALS OF THE BARBER-SURGEONS' COMPANY.

1. 1638, March 29th.—Humphrey Painter subscribes iij^{li} to the building Fund.

[*Annals of the Barber-Surgeons*, p. 215.]

2. 1661.—Humphrey Painter, Serjeant-Surgeon, Master of the Barber-Surgeons' Company.

[*Annals of the Barber-Surgeons*, p. 9.]

APPENDIX VII.

RECORDS CONCERNING RICHARD PILE (OR PYLE), SERGEANT-SURGEON, PRESERVED IN STATE PAPERS.

1. 1661, March (?).—"Petition of Richard Pile to the King, to confirm to him the office of Serjeant Surgeon, which of right descends to him, being sworn His Majesty's Surgeon 18 years ago. Served him faithfully in England and beyond seas, till sent by him from Jersey to England."

[*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic,*
1660-1661.]

2. 1661, March (?).—"Petition of Richard Pile to the King, that no grant surreptitiously obtained by Mr. Painter may prejudice his right to the place of Serjeant Surgeon, which the Lord Chamberlain, on hearing the dispute between them, decided to belong to him, as conferred by the late King."

[*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic,*
1660-1661.]

3. 1661, March.—"Grant to Richard Pile of the office of Principal Surgeon, annual fee, 80l., and of first Serjeant Surgeon; fee 26l. 6s. 8d."

[*Docquet Book*, p. 97.]

4. 1661, March.—"Grant to the same of an annuity of 150l."

[*Docquet Book*, p. 97.]

5. 1661, March (?).—"Petition of the same to the King to permit his Warrants for the office and pension of first Serjeant Surgeon, which are post-dated a year, to be altered in His Majesty's presence."

[*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic,*
1660-1661.]

APPENDIX VIII.

RECORDS CONCERNING JOHN KNIGHT, SERGEANT-SURGEON,
PRESERVED IN STATE PAPERS.

1. 1661, — (?).—Grant to John Knight of the office of Principal Surgeon; fee £26. 6^s. 8^d., with pension of £150.

[*Docquet Book*, p. 97.]

2. 1661, July 11th.—Minutes of Grants to Richard Pile, John Knight, & Hum. Painter, of of of (*sic*) First Principal Surgeon to the King & First Serjeant Surgeon, with annuities of £150 to each.

[*Calendar of State Papers, Reign of Charles II., Domestic Series.*]

3. 1662, September (?).—Petition of John Knight, Sergeant-Surgeon to the King:—

Having served His Majesty abroad, he was continued with others in his place at the Restoration. He received the usual fee for embalming the Duke of Gloucester, being the only profit that has fallen to him, but he is now ordered to divide it with Richard Wiseman, Surgeon in Ordinary. He begs not to be made the only person who has had his fee taken from him.

[*Calendar of State Papers, Reign of Charles II., Domestic Series.*]

Mem.—The foregoing petition of John Knight is calendared under the date 1661, March (?), in vol. xxxiii. of the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1660–1661, but was subsequently removed by the Editor to 1662, September, under which date it is also calendared in vol. xxxiv.

4. 1662, September 11th.—Warrant to Mr. Knight to retain the whole usual fee, which had been disputed by some others of the King's Surgeons.

[*Calendar of State Papers, Reign of Charles II., Domestic Series.*]

5. John Knight, Surgeon-General, to Williamson.¹ Lord Arlington agrees that no surgeons have their commissions signed till allowed by him as Surgeon-General; also that all orders for chests and medicines be directed to him, to see that they are sufficient, both in quality and quantity.

[*Calendar of State Papers, July 5, 1666.*]

6. J. Knight to Williamson. Requests him to deliver Jacques Wiseman's commission as surgeon to the Earl of Carlisle's Regiment, and to speak a word for Mr. Browne, as the Earl of Ogle is not yet provided.

[*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1666.*]

7. 1663.—John Knight, Sergeant-Surgeon, Master of the Barber-Surgeons' Company.

1669.	Do.	Do.	Do.
1677.	Do.	Do.	Do.

[*Annals of the Barber-Surgeons*, by Sidney Young, London, 1890, pp. 9, 10.]

¹ Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary to Lord Arlington, Secretary of State.

APPENDIX IX.

RECORDS CONCERNING SERGEANT-SURGEON JOHN KNIGHT,
FROM THE ANNALS OF THE BARBER-SURGEONS' COM-
PANY.

The name of Sergeant-Surgeon John Knight is well preserved at the Barber-Surgeons' Hall, for it is borne on two of the most interesting articles of the Company's plate—an elaborately chased and enriched grace-cup and cover, presented to the Company by King Henry VIII. in 1540, and a very handsome and unique cup known as the Royal Oak Cup, commemorative of the King's escape at Boscobel. This latter cup was the gift of King Charles II. in 1676, the presentation of it being partly due, it would appear, to the request or suggestion of Sergeant-Surgeon Knight.

1. The following extracts explain the connection of Sergeant-Surgeon Knight with the articles of plate just named:—

“It appears by the Warden's accounts, that in 1669 John Knight, Serjeant Surgeon, who was Master, had the cup (Henry VIII.'s gift) repaired and a case made for it. Serjeant Surgeon Knight was again Master in 1677-8, when he caused a plate to be fixed within the cover with this inscription:—‘Henrici R. Munificentia Ne Posteris Ignota Maneat Johannis Knight, R.C.P. 1678.’”

2. With respect to the “Royal Oak Cup” there is the following remark:—

“The Company's arms are engraved on one shield, on another the crest, on the third is the following inscription, ‘Donum Munificentissimi Regis Caroli Secundi Anno 1676;’ and on the last (4th) shield—‘Impetrantibus Chirurgis Regiis Johanne Knight Chirurgo Regis Principali et Jacobo Pearse Eodem Anno Societatis Magistro.’”¹

¹ “Annals of the Barber-Surgeons,” by Sidney Young, pp. 499, 500. Drawings of the two cups are given in the work from which the foregoing paragraphs are quoted.

APPENDIX X.

RECORDS CONCERNING KING'S SURGEON MICHAEL ANDREWS,
FROM THE ANNALS OF THE BARBER-SURGEONS' COM-
PANY.

Grant of an Annuity of £150 to Michael Andrews.

1. 1625, 25th August.—“There is a letter of this date from Sir James Fullerton to Secretary Conway, intimating that it is His Majesty's pleasure to grant to Michael Andrews a pension of £150 per annum for life.”

[*Annals of the Barber-Surgeons*, p. 127.]

2. 1635.—Michael Andrews, Surgeon in Ordinary to the King, Master of the Company.

[*Op. cit.*, p. 8.]

3. 1636, 3rd August.—The name of Michael Andrews (Micheale Andrews, Chirurgo Regio, &c.) ordered to be inscribed in Portland stone under the cantilever of the Anatomical Theatre, together with the Company's Arms, with Helmet, Crest, supporters and mantlings.

[*Op. cit.*, p. 134.]

4. 1638, 29th March.—The name of Michael Andrews appears in a list of 38 subscribers to the Building Fund of the new premises of the Barber-Surgeon's Company: he gives xⁱⁱ to the Funds.

[*Op. cit.*, p. 215.]

APPENDIX XI.

RECORDS CONCERNING JACQUES WISEMAN, FROM THE ANNALS
OF THE BARBER-SURGEONS' COMPANY.

Record of Jacques Wiseman being bound Apprentice on
5th May 1663, to Richard Wiseman for seven years:—

1. "1663, 5 Majæ.—Jaquier Wiseman fil Samuel Wiseman Civis et Apothecary London po: se Appr̃. Richardo Wiseman Chif pro 7 annis a die dat."

Record of Jacques Wiseman, the Apprentice of Richard Wiseman, being admitted to the Freedom of the Company by service, on the 2nd of April 1672:—

2. "1672.—Jacques Wiseman Appr̃ Richi Wiseman Chif ad̃s & serviciũ 2^{do} die Aprilis 1672."

APPENDIX XII.

RECORDS CONCERNING MR. SAMUEL WISEMAN, FROM THE
ANNALS OF THE APOTHECARY'S COMPANY.

1. The records of the Apothecary's Company in London show that Mr. Samuel Wiseman was bound as an apprentice for eight years on the 6th of December 1638, and that on the 21st of January 1646, having completed his time, he was examined, approved, took the oath, and was made free, and afterwards gave a "spoon" to the Company. It thus appears that the date of Mr. Samuel Wiseman's apprenticeship was nearly the same as that of Richard Wiseman, the Sergeant-Surgeon. It seems likely they were first cousins. Whose son Samuel Wiseman was is not stated in the records, though such a statement occurs in the majority of instances of apprenticeship.

The presentation of a spoon seems to have been an exceptional occurrence among the members of the Apothecary's Company when they attained their freedom, but a spoon was an established article of gift to some of the City Companies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries on similar occasions. Under the statutes of the Barber-Surgeons' Company ordained in the year 1555, a surgeon, on admission, was required to present to the Company "a spone of an ounce of Silver and his name to be wrytten upon it." The statutes alluded to are printed in full in the Annals of the Barber-Surgeons' Company (*op. cit.*, p. 310), and illustrations of a series of curiously-fashioned and engraved spoons thus presented are given at a later page of the same work.

APPENDIX XIII.

ORDER CONCERNING PUBLICATION OF BOOKS BY MEMBERS
OF THE BARBER-SURGEONS' COMPANY.

20th March 1578. It was ordered:—

1. That yf any man of this misterie shall at any tyme hereafter make any booke or bookes of Surgerie the same shall not be published unles the same booke or bookes be first presented unto the masters governors & examenors of this Companie for the tyme beinge upon payne of x^{li}.

[*Annals of the Barber-Surgeons' Company,*
op. cit., p. 319.]

APPENDIX XIV.

COPY OF RICHARD WISEMAN'S LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT.

*Extracted from the Principal Registry of the Probate, Divorce,
and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice.*

In the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

In the name of God, Amen.

Sic. This ——— day of July Anno Domini 1676 and in the eight and twentieth yeare of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord Charles the second by the Grace of God of England Scotland France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c. I Richard Wiseman of the Parish of St. Paul Covent Garden in the County of Middx Esquire Sergeant Chirurgeon to his most sacred Majesty being at present weake in body But (praised be God) of sound mind and memory For the avoïding of all disputes and controversies which after my death may happen to grow or arise Doe therefore and for the peace and settlement of my mind make and declare my last will and testament in manner and forme following (That is to say) First and principally I recõmend my soule to God that gave it in hopes of remission of my sinnes through the expiatory meritts of my ever Blessed Redeemer Jesus Christ and to be made partaker of the Glorious resurrection of the just att the Last day My Body I cõmitt to the Earth to be decently interred in the Chancell of the Parish Church of St Paul Covent Garden aforesaid where my late wife lyes buried And my will is that I be buried without escoucheons and the trouble of inviting many friends and acquaintance But of such onely as shall voluntarily come and attend my funerall As concerning such

worldly estate and substance ~~as the Good God of Heaven hath~~ blessed me with I dispose thereof in this following manner Imprimis whereas I owe unto M^r Edmond Wiseman Mercer the Summe of Two Thousand pounds upon Bond I doe hereby will and order The same to be paid in December next out of the severall summes of money which will then accrue due to be paid as followeth (That is to say) The summe of nine hundred pounds due to me from S^r Richard Blake six hundred pounds more payable to me from M^r — Blackwell upon mortgage of houses Two hundred pounds more due to me from M^r Greene upon mortgage of lands One hundred pounds more due to me from M^{rs} Bradbourn by Bond of her late husband And two hundred pounds more due from one M^r Dove by Bond with others This debt of Two Thousand pounds being paid out of these or such other Bonds or securities for moneys due to me as shall suffice to raise the summe unto the said M^r Edmond Wiseman My will then is And I doe hereby devise bequeath and settle unto and upon my dearly beloved wife Mary my whole right and interest which I have in and by a certain mortgage upon the estate of S^r Thomas Mauleveror her brother And I doe also hereby cleerly relinquish bequeath and give up unto her all my right and investiture of and in the Estate and porcion of her my said wife soe that the same and the full and whole right and dispose thereof be and remaine intirely to her in such sort as before her intermarriage with me Item I further give and bequeath unto my dear wife All my interest and terms of yeares to come of and in the house wherein I now dwell And also all the goods and furniture belonging to the same Together with all my plate and jewells Item I doe hereby devise bequeath and settle unto and upon the child of her body whereof she now goes The several estates and Leases which I have of the Rectory of Stroubby and Barnby and alsoe the Fee Farm of Feckenham Parke in Worstershire And also my two tenements in the Strand in the County of Middx The same to be improved for and to the use and benefitt of the said child during his or her minority Item I give and bequeath the interest of one thousand pounds (which is in the hands of

Thus
written
and
scratched
through
in the
original.

Sic.

S^r Robert Viner and Alderman Blackwell) unto my said wife To be employed for and towards the maintenance and bringing up of the said child And I doe hereby nominate the said M^r Edmond Wiseman sole Trustee for my said child ordering and allowing him to be paid such charges as he shall att any time be att by reason thereof And I doe give unto him the said M^r Edmond Wiseman mourning and twenty pounds in money to buy him a ring Item my will is and I do hereby declare that in case the said child (whereof my wife is now pregnant) shall happen to dye during its minority Then I doe hereby give and bequeath the said severall estates and Leases before herein before given and settled unto and upon my said child To my sisters for the maintenance of them and their children as my sister Hastings shall think fitt to dispose and appoint And I doe further give unto them my said sisters and their children The remaining debts due to me By Bond Patent Tally or otherwise for their better and larger maintenance as my sister Hastings shall think fitt to dispose But neverthelesse if my said child shall live and attaine the age of one and twenty years or be married (being a girle) with her mother's consent Then I doe hereby give and bequeath All the principall money and remaining debts To the use of my said child And my said sisters and their children To have and receive only the lawfull interest of the said moneys And that only during the minority of the said child Item I doe bequeath unto Mary Doughty my late wife's niece during the minority of my said child The interest of five hundred pounds lent to S^r Hugh Owen upon mortgage The principall sume to remain to the use and benefitt of my said child if the same happen to live to full age Item I give unto my kinsman Jacques Wiseman one hundred pounds to be paid him arising out of my other debts due to me upon Bond Item I give to the poore of the Parish of St. Paul Covent Garden The sume of Twenty pounds which money soe given is payable by M^r John Peters upon demand by bill of his hand The rest and residue of my said estate (my debts and legacies being first paid and funerall charges deducted) I give and bequeath

the same unto my said deare wife whom I hereby nominate and appoint sole Executrix of this my last Will and Testament Hereby utterly revoaking annulling and making void all other and former Will and Wills by me made and Legacies by me therein given And these presents conteyned in Sic. ——— sheets of paper To stand and be accompted as and for my very last Will and Testament and none other or otherwise.

In witness whereof &c

August y^e 20th (76)

Memorandum That the day and Yeare above written wee whose names are onder placed are witnesses that Mr Wise-man did declare this to be his last will and testament—Elizabeth Ballidowne, Mary Ferreman, John Hayes.

Proved 12th }
September }
1676 }

APPENDIX XV.

ADMINISTRATION OF WILL OF RICHARD WISEMAN.

Extracted from the Principal Registry of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice.

In the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

Septembris 1676

Richus Wyseman. Duodecimo die probatum fuit Testum Richardi Wyseman nup hæ S'cī Pauli Covent Garden in. Coñ Midd sed in Citatē Bathon Añ decēd hēntis &c Jurañ Mariæ Wyseman relcæ et Eñcis &c Cui &c de bene &c Jurat Salvo ei quocunq beneficio ad eam tanquam relcām dīc def dum vixit civis Londōn racōe consuetudinis Civitatis Londōn spectāñ; acceptacōe sua humōi oneris exuis humōi testī non obstante

Ad^o cum testō de
bonis non em^t
mense Augusti
1680

}

Lond

Inv^m extūm

Blasij

Sheldon xiii

• [Expansion of the foregoing.

Septembris 1676.

Richardus Wyseman. Duodecimo die probatum fuit testamentum Richardi Wyseman nuper parochiæ Sancti Pauli Covent Garden in Comitatu Middlesexiæ sed in civitate Bathoniæ armigeri decedentis habentis &c juramento Mariæ Wyseman relictæ et executricis &c. cui &c. de bene &c. juratæ Salvo ei quocunque beneficio ad eam tanquam relictam dicti defuncti dum vixit

civis Londonii ratione consuetudinis civitatis Londonii spectante
Acceptatione sua hujusmodi oneris executionis hujusmodi testa-
menti non obstante

Administratio cum testimonio
de bonis non emanavit
mense Augusti 1680.

} Londonii
Inventarium exhibitum
Blasii
Sheldon xiii

Translation of the foregoing.¹

[12th of] September 1676.

Richard } On the 12th day was proved the Will of Richard
Wyseman } Wiseman, Esquire, lately of the Parish of St. Paul,
Covent Garden, in the county of Middlesex, but who died in
the city of Bath, possessed of certain goods, on the oath of
Maria Wyseman his relict and executrix of the same, to
whom the oath was administered well and faithfully to exe-
cute the same, saving to her any benefit whatsoever belong-
ing to her as relict of the said deceased, who was in his
lifetime a citizen of London, by reason of the custom of
the city of London, her acceptance of the said charge of
executing the said will notwithstanding.

Administration, with evidence
of the goods not administered,
issued in the month of August
1680.

} London,
Inventory Exhibited
Blasius,
Sheldon xiii.

¹ My friend Mr. Basevi Sanders, late of the Public Record Office, has kindly assisted me in deciphering and interpreting the technical language of this and the other legal documents contained among the Appendices to this Memoir of Wiseman. It seems doubtful whether at the time they were written they would have been understood by any other persons than lawyers.

APPENDIX XVI.

COPY OF RECEIPT BY MARY WISEMAN OF HER LATE HUSBAND'S PAY AND ALLOWANCES FOR THE QUARTER ENDING 24TH OF JUNE 1675.

(Public Record Office.)

Exchequer of Receipt. Issue Rolls (Pells), Mich.
28 Car. II.

No. 628, membrane 12.

(Extract.)

Veneris, viij^o die Decemb^r 1676.

<i>Wiseman.</i>	{ Maria Wiseman Relict et Executric. Richi Wiseman nup Principat Chyrurg ^r Dñi Rs de feod ^r s̄ ad iiij ^{xx} ti p annū & quartēr anni finiūt ad festū Nat ^e St ⁱ Johis Bap ^{te} anno R. Rs Carol ⁱ Secundi xxv ^{to}	}	xx ^{li}	{ lxiiij ^{li} iiij ^s iiij ^d } Vernon.
	{ Eidem Serviē Chyrurg ^r Dñi Rs de feod ^r s̄ ad xl ^{ta} marcas p annū & quartēr anni finiūt ad festū p Id.	}	vj ^{li} xiijs iiij ^d	
	{ Eidem de annuitat ^r s̄ ad cl ^{li} p annū & quartēr anni finiūt ad festū p Id.	}	xxxvij ^{li} x ^s	

Translation of the foregoing account.

(Extract.)

Friday, the 8th day of December 1676.

<i>Wiseman.</i>	To Mary Wiseman, Relict and Executrix of Richard Wiseman, late Principal Sur- geon of the Lord the King, of his fee at £80 a year, for the Quarter of the year ended at the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist in the 25th year of the Reign of King Charles the Second.	£20	£64, 3s. 4d.	Vernon.
	To the same Sergeant Sur- geon of the Lord the King of his fee at 40 marks a year for the Quarter of the year ended at the Feast aforesaid.	£6, 13s. 4d.		
	To the same of his Annuity at £150 a year for the Quarter of the year ended at the Feast aforesaid.	£37, 10s.		

Mem.—The name of Richard Wiseman is found on the Roll of Annuities and Pensions for Mich. 27 Car. II. (September 1675), but on a similar roll for Mich. 28 Car. II. (September 1676) the name does not appear. As is shown elsewhere, he had died toward the end of the previous month, August.

APPENDIX XVII.

WISEMAN'S LODGING ALLOWANCE FOR THE YEAR 1663. PETITION OF THOMAS HARRISON AND MARY HARRISON TO RECOVER THE SAME.

Extract from the Lord Chamberlain's Records, 1st Series,
vol. 747, fo. 434.

Whereas Richard Wiseman, Esq^r., late Serjeant Chyrurgion to His Ma^{ty} did in His life tyme take out a Warrant for His allowance for lodging for the year 1663, and that the said Warrant¹ is alleadged to be burnt in the late fire in y^e Temple and the same Warrant being desired to be renewed by mee, These are therefore to pray and require you to pay or cause to be paid unto Thomas Harrison of Gray's Inn, Esq. and to Mary His wife Relict and Executrix of y^e said Richard Wiseman the sume of two and fifty pounds for his lodging out of Court two and fifty weeks from y^e eighth of August 1663 to y^e eighth of August 1664 at the rate of Twenty shillings by y^e weeke it being an ancient allowance. And this shall be yo^r Warr^t given under my hand this 26th day of December 1679 in the 31st yeare of His Ma^{ty}'s Reigne.

To Edward Griffin Esq:

Tre^r of His Ma^{ty}'s Chamber.¹

¹ An entry of this warrant, dated February 1674-5, is preserved in the Book of Warrants.

A copy of *Wiseman's Treatise of Wounds* (1672) has just been added to the library of the Royal College of Surgeons of England. When Sir Thomas Longmore was writing his *Life of Wiseman* he was unable to hear of more than two copies, one in the British Museum and one in the Library at Netley. This copy which has just come to light is a very interesting one, as it is a presentation copy from the author. On the cover is written, "May 27th, '73, this booke was sent me by ye Author from Kinge's Streete in Covent Garden. Ja. Welsh." From James Welsh it passed to Thomas Welsh, who sold it in 1678 to Mich. Cadman, jun., for 2s. 6d. This inscription throws some light on Wiseman's place of residence. There are references to his living in Covent Garden, except this note no mention of the name of the street in which he lived.

Brit. Med. Journal.
Mar. 2. 1895.

1892	Liverpool ...	...	517,514	194	15	7.7
1892-3	Manchester	...	515,598	378	22	5.8
Nov., 1892, to June, 1893	Middleton ...	{	22,162 {	22	2	9.1
April to July, 1894	Ossett ...	{	11,100 {	34	4	11.7
1892	"	{	13,400 {	19	1	5.2
1893	Pudsey ...	...	203,431	26	0	0.0
1893	Salford ...	...	65,325	17	1	5.9
1893	Southampton	...	93,816	174	21	12.0
1893	Swansea ...	...	66,912	152	8	5.2
Oct., 1892, to July, 1893	York ...	...		23	1	4.3
				72	7	9.7

1893	Birmingham*	...	487,897	979	70	7.1
1887-8	Bristol*	...	225,028 {	327	37	11.6
1893	"	{	74,000 {	164	19	
1893	Walsall*	...		778	71	

APPENDIX XVIII.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROPERTY OF MARY HARRISON,
OTHERWISE WISEMAN, DECEASED.

Extract from the Principal Registry of the Probate, Divorce,
and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice.

In the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

Augusti 1680.

Richus Wyseman.)

Vicesimo sexto die em^t Comō Thomē a^r marito et Adtori bono^r Marie Harrison a^rs Wyseman defūte dum vixit Relcē Excī^s et Legata^r residuarie Testi Richi Wyseman a^r nup p^æ Sci Pauli Covent Garden in Com^ū Midd^l sed in Civitate Bathoⁿ defūti heⁿtis &c ad adstrand^ū bona jura et Cred^ū dcī defūti juxta tenō^r et effcū^m testi ejus^d defūti per d^cam Executricem demortuam inad^{ta} de bene &c Jurat.

Im reg^r }
Bence 126 }

Londoⁿ
Blasij.

[Expansion of the foregoing.]

Augusti 1680.

Richardus Wyseman.)

Vicesimo sexto die emanavit commissio Thome Harrison Armigero marito et administratori bonorum Marie Harrison alias Wyseman defuncte dum vixit relictę executricis et legatarie residuarie testamenti Richardi Wyseman Armigeri nuper parochie Sancti Pauli Covent Garden in comitatu Middlesexie sed in civitate Bathonie defuncti habentis etc. ad administrandum bona jura et

credita dicti defuncti juxta tenorem et effectum testamenti ejusdem defuncti per dictam executricem demortuam inadministrata be bene etc. jurato.

Irrotulatum Registro }
Bence 126 }

London
Blasii.

[Translation of the foregoing.]

[26th] of August 1680.

Richard } On the 26th day there issued a Commission to
Wyseman } Thomas Harrison, Esquire, husband and administrator of the goods of Maria Harrison, otherwise Wyseman, deceased, in her lifetime the relict, executrix, and residuary legatee of the will of Richard Wyseman, Esquire, late of the parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden, in the county of Middlesex, but who died in the city of Bath possessed of the said goods, [the said Thomas being] sworn well and faithfully to administer such goods, rights, and credits of the said deceased [Richard] according to the tenor and effect of the will of the said deceased, as had not been administered by the said deceased executrix.

The enrolment is registered }
Bence 126 }

London,
Blasius.

APPENDIX XIX.

CHEVALIER'S JOURNAL.

This very interesting and valuable Diary, which Colonel Le Cornu of Jersey was good enough to examine for me, has never been printed. The original manuscript, a large one, as I am informed, is now the property of Miss Hemery of Jersey. It was written in French at the time when the events which it records took place. Owing to the strangeness of the old spelling, it is now difficult to decipher it in some parts. The writer, M. John Chevalier, was an inhabitant of St. Helier's, Jersey, and held the post of a *vingtennier*¹ in the town. The particulars of all the occurrences at Jersey during the time of the civil wars in the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II. which Chevalier considered worthy of remark are recorded in his journal in minute detail. Dr. Hoskins has mentioned in the preface to his well-known work on the two visits of Charles II. to Jersey² that he drew a great part of his information from this journal. He took great pains to establish the accuracy of Chevalier's statements, and Dr. Hoskins has declared it to be a "chronicle of unquestionable authenticity."

Dr. Hoskins gives in his book just cited a list of the noblemen and gentlemen in the suite of His Highness Prince Charles on his first visit to the island of Jersey, and he mentions, among others in the list, "Dr. Frayler,

¹ This seems to have been an office which rendered the person holding it, under the municipal arrangements of the island, answerable for the regular payments of dues and taxes by the tenants of twenty houses in the town, and for their general good conduct.

² "Charles II. in the Channel Islands." By S. Elliott Hoskins, M.D. F.R.S. In 2 vols. London: Bentley, 1854.

Physician," and after the name of Mr. Freeman, Gentleman Usher and Quarter Wayter, that of "Mr. Lyle, Barber."¹ Dr. Frayler appeared to me to be obviously a mistake in name for Dr. Fraizer or Frasier, and Mr. Lyle, Barber, a mistake for Mr. Pyle, Barber-Surgeon. Colonel Le Cornu, to my surprise, wrote to me after he had examined the Diary, that although Chevalier gives a list of the Prince's officers and attendants, he does not mention the name of a medical attendant of any description among them on the occasion of the Prince's *first* visit to Jersey, nor does he make any allusion to a Mr. Lyle, Barber. The name of Lyle does not occur anywhere in the Diary. It became evident, therefore, that Dr. Hoskins had procured these names from some other source of information. I have since ascertained that Dr. Hoskins found them in one of the original letters which were placed at the disposal of Mr. Ferdinand Tupper of Guernsey by Sir George Osborne, Bart., and that he added them to Chevalier's list.² Dr. Hoskins had the opportunity of perusing these papers, and he states in the Preface to his work that he had availed himself freely of their contents. Sir George Osborne was a descendant of one of the Royalist defenders of Castle Cornet, in Guernsey, whose correspondence contained many particulars concerning the condition of affairs at Jersey as well as Guernsey at the period of the civil war.

Colonel Le Cornu has sent me an exact copy of the list of names of the Prince's followers written by Chevalier in that

¹ *Op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 355.

² The Rev. E. Hoskins, son of the author of "Charles II. in the Channel Islands," has informed me that his uncle, Sir Edgar MacCulloch, made a copy of the Osborne Papers at the time when Sir G. Osborne sent them over to Guernsey to Mr. Tupper. Mr. Hoskins looked into this copy for me, and found under date of 24th April 1646, "a list of the Ladies and Gentlemen now with Prince Charles in Jersey," and in this list he discovered entries of "Doctor frayler, Physition," and "Mr. Lyle, Barber." A selection of the Osborne letters, modernised and corrected, was collected into a volume, and published under the title of "The Chronicles of Castle Cornet," by Ferdinand Brock Tupper, Esq. I have examined this volume (2nd edit., Guernsey, 1851); the list of names alluded to above is not included in the papers printed in it.

portion of his Diary where Mr. Freeman's name is mentioned. They are as follows, and they afford a curious illustration of the changes in orthography which took place under Chevalier's conversion of them into Norman French and his special methods of spelling:—

Monsieur le Solliciteur Coouk.
 Monsieur Waisque baronnet.
 Monsieur Woindum gentilhōme.
 Monsieur friement gentilhōme.
 Monsieur woitne gentilhōme.
 Monsieur chiffin gentilhōme
 Monsieur gainain gentilhōme.

These names thus spelled represent in English Mr. Solicitor Cooke; Mr. Wake, baronet; Mr. Windham, Mr. Freeman, Mr. Wynn, Mr. Chiffin, and Mr. Gavan, gentlemen.

The names of Wiseman and Dr. Fraizer, as well as of Mr. Cheyer, apothecary, are mentioned by Chevalier in his Diary among the gentlemen in attendance on the King and Duke of York on the occasion of the *second* visit of Charles to Jersey in September 1649, and the transmutation in spelling which the two names of Wiseman and Fraizer have undergone is as curious as the changes are which were made in the names already mentioned. They are thus written in the original diary:—

“Les noms du Docteur medecin et appoticaire.

Docteur fraize

Docteur woisement medecin

Maistre cheyire appoticaire.”

APPENDIX XX.

SIR ALEXANDER FRASIER, PHYSICIAN TO CHARLES II.

Dr. Fraiser or Frasier, one of the physicians to Charles II., was a very prominent person at the court of Charles II. both during his banishment from England and after the Restoration. Wiseman alludes to his having been associated with Dr. Frasier at the time of the military operations in the West of England, as well as during the campaign in Scotland. He is describing a case of local inflammation which had been badly treated, and in which gangrene had ensued in a portion of the inflamed parts. "In the time of the Civill Wars," he writes, "a Gentleman in the West-country was sorely pained with an Inflammation and Swelling upon the *Os Ilion* on the left side. . . . Sir Alexander Frasier, chief Physician to his Majesty, and myself were fetched, and saw the Tumour black and sunk the compass of the palm of an hand," &c.¹

Dr. Frasier was one of those who contrived to get safely away from the disaster at Worcester. He effected his escape to Flanders, but soon rejoined the King after his arrival in France.² Mention is made of his being with the King three months after the battle of Worcester was fought. A news-writer remarks, in a communication from Paris to London dated 30th December 1651: "The old Court flies begin now again to flock about him. . . . Some of them are come to the Louvre already out of Flanders, as Hide, a man of dignity too, that calls himself the Chequer Chancellor; here is also Fraiser, a physition, and one Lloid, a chaplain," &c.³

¹ *Op. cit.*, edit. 1676, Bk. i. ch. iii. p. 21.

² Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. vii. ch. xiv. p. 117.

³ See footnote, Evelyn's Diary and Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 263.

Lord Clarendon on several occasions refers to this Scotch physician in such of his letters as have been preserved, as well as in his *History of the Rebellion*. Dr. Frasier seems to have had great weight not only in his medical capacity, but also to have been a good deal mixed up with the political movements of the time. Lord Clarendon mentions it was he who contrived and conducted the short expedition of King Charles II. into the Highlands, which afterwards became known as "The Start."¹ The following extracts show pretty clearly the footing on which he was in the Court society while Charles II. was on the Continent. In a letter to Sir R. Browne, dated St. Germain, 6th August 1652, Lord Clarendon, then Sir Edward Hyde, writes: "I have been very much troubled for poor Mr. Douglass's being sicke. If there had not been 3 or 4 persons of quality heere very sicke, as my Lo. Wentworth, Schomburgh, younge Mr. Jarmin, who hath the smallpox, and others who would not indure the absence of ther physicon, Dr. ffrayser had gone over to Paris to looke to him;"² and on the same page, in a footnote, is a quotation from another letter of Lord Clarendon, in which he writes: "I am glad you have so good a correspondent as Dr. Frayser, who is grown (God knows why) an absolute stranger with me: he is great with Lord Gerard and Mr. Attorney, but he will speedily leave us and go to England, which truly I am sorry for, for the King's sake; for no doubt he is good at his business, otherwise the maddest fool alive."

After the Restoration in 1660 the influence of Dr. Fraiser with the King and those who were about him seems to have increased very greatly; indeed, if the remarks of Pepys in his *Diary* are to be trusted, he became all-powerful. Pepys mentions, under date 19th November 1664, that he was told by Dr. Pierce³ that "Dr. Fraizer could do what he pleased

¹ Clarendon, *op. cit.*, vol. vi. p. 484.

² Evelyn's *Diary*, and *Private Correspondence between Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, and Sir Richard Browne*, vol. iv. p. 251.

³ There are numerous references to this Dr. Pierce (who was a surgeon, not a physician) in Pepys' *Diary*, as well as to Mrs. Pierce, his wife. The two

with the King and with the Prince, they all having more or less occasion to make use of him ;” and later on, under date of 26th May 1669,¹ he relates that Sir A. Fraizer was arrested for a debt of £30 for firing, at the instance of Sir Edmund Bury Godfry, a woodmonger and Justice of the Peace in Westminster, and that the King was so angry when he heard of it, that, by his command, the bailiffs who arrested him were apprehended, committed to gaol, and the last night of their confinement “severely whipped.” The Justice himself “very hardly escaped from the same punishment, to such an unusual degree was the King moved therein,” writes Pepys. A good example this of autocratic injustice!

It is mentioned in Dr. Munk’s Roll of the College of Physicians of England (see vol. i. p. 232) that Dr. Fraizer (who became Sir Alexander Fraizer) was an M.D. of Montpellier of the 1st October 1635; was incorporated at Cambridge in March 1637, and was admitted a Fellow of the College of Physicians of London in November 1641. He died on the 3rd of May 1681.

families of Pierce and Pepys seem to have been very intimate with each other. The name is spelled Pearse in the Annals of the Barber-Surgeons’ Company. He was surgeon both to the King (Charles II.) and to the Duke of York, and was Master of the Barber-Surgeons’ Company in the year 1675.

¹ Diary of Samuel Pepys, vol. iii. p. 14; Idem, vol. vi. p. 169.

APPENDIX XXI.

THE MONUMENT TO LADY ELIZABETH RUSSELL IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY. (See remarks in the text, p. 134.)

This quaint and interesting monument, of which an illustration is given at p. 156, may still be seen on its ornate marble pedestal in St. Edmund's Chapel, Westminster Abbey. In Sir Roger de Coverley's visit to the Abbey in 1712, the knight refers to this monument as representing that "martyr to good housewifry, who died by the prick of a needle," and, after having regarded the pricked finger for some time, is said to have expressed his wonder that "Sir Richard Baker has said nothing of her in his Chronicle."¹

The young lady alluded to was Lady Elizabeth Russell, a granddaughter of the first Earl of Bedford and daughter of Lord John Russell, who died in 1585, and whose monument is close by in the same chapel. She was a Maid of Honour to Queen Elizabeth, who had been one of her sponsors at her christening in the year 1575, and in her effigy she appears in the costume worn at that period. She is represented asleep in a sitting posture, her head leaning upon her right hand, while her left hand, with the first finger slightly elevated above the others, and separated from them, rests on the front of the dress near the left knee, and at once attracts the attention of the spectator, as it seems evident the sculptor intended it to do. Wiseman must have been describing the figure from imperfect memory when he wrote "the young lady *holding up* her finger;" for although manifestly, from its position and the manner in which it is slightly elevated apart from the other fingers, it is one of the special features

¹ See the *Spectator*, No. 329 (by Addison), March 18, 1712.

of the statue, there is nothing forced about it—it is just in the natural position a finger which might be causing some pain would be in while the patient was sleeping. Indeed, for the lady to have held the finger up would have been quite out of keeping with the state of deep sleep in which the sculptor has represented her. The finger points in the direction of an emblem of death, a skull, on which the right foot is supported. The skull acts as a footstool, and this elevated position of the foot causes the knee on the same side to be raised so as to serve for a support to the arm and hand on which the head is reposing. The whole figure is placed upon a richly ornamented pedestal of black marble, round the top of which, above the moulding, is inscribed in conspicuous letters: “Dormit, non mortua est.” There is another inscription on the pedestal below in two lines on a scroll of white marble, also in Latin, to the effect that the monument had been erected to “Elizabeth Russell of most happy memory by her sorrowing sister Anna.”¹

Wiseman does not specify in his reference to the monument what the “ill habit of body” was under which the patient was suffering, nor does he particularly state in what way the injury to the finger conduced to the young lady’s death. However, as the illustration occurs in his chapter on strumous disorders, and as he had just been describing a case in which a comparatively simple operation for necrosis of bone was followed by convulsions and terminated fatally, there seems to be good reason for thinking that he had a similar condition of constitution and a similar complication in view when he referred to the case of Lady Elizabeth Russell. According to the printed description ordinarily sold to visitors of the Abbey, her death is supposed to have been due to lockjaw.² In Dean Stanley’s “Historical Memorials

¹ “*Fœlicissimæ memoriæ sacrum Elizabethæ Russellæ posuit Anna soror mœrens.*”

² A Historical Description of Westminster Abbey: its Monuments and Curiosities. Printed for the Vergers in the Abbey. Page 6. “On an altar sits, in a sleeping posture, the figure of Lady Elizabeth Russel. She pricked her finger with a needle, which is supposed to have caused a lock-jaw, and occasioned her death.”

of Westminster Abbey," it is stated that the legend of the pricked finger only arose about seventy years after the lady's death,¹ which occurred in the year 1601, and that she really died from consumption. No particulars regarding the young lady's illness or death, beyond those which are stated in Dean Stanley's work, exist among the records of the Russell family.² There is nothing in the calmly sleeping attitude of the figure, in the repose of the features of the face, or in any other part of the monument to indicate such a disorder as that of lock-jaw or convulsions. No doubt Dean Stanley wrote on the best authority when he described Lady Elizabeth's death to have been the result of consumption, but there may still have been some occurrence of the nature of a prick of a finger followed by a poisoned state of the wound, which, in her "ill habit of body," exerted a baneful influence, and, being remembered, gave rise to the Vergers' tradition of its being the cause of her death. Something of the kind certainly seems to have been in the mind of the sculptor when he placed the finger in so prominent a position, and caused it to point towards the skull, the usual symbol of death, on which one of the feet is resting. Death, very probably, under all the circumstances mentioned, would occur while the exhausted sufferer was in a condition of stupor or apparent sleep from the effects of blood-poisoning, and thus the epitaph, "She is sleeping, not dead," would be consistent with a double meaning, with both a physical and spiritual interpretation.³

¹ "She died of consumption, a few days after the marriage of her sister Anne at Blackfriars, at which the Queen attended, as represented in the celebrated Sherborne Castle picture. Such was her real end. But the form of her monument has bred one of the 'vulgar errors' of Westminster mythology." The Dean then refers to the legend that "she died of the prick of a needle," which, he writes, has been "sometimes magnified into a judgment on her for working on Sunday." (*Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster, &c., 3rd edit., London, 1869, p. 219.)

² I am indebted to Lord Arthur Russell for this information.

³ Dean Stanley refers his readers to Goldsmith's "Citizen of the World." This supposed Chinese philosopher, the account of whose visit to Westminster was published about the year 1760, writes:—"A person attended us, who,

Since the foregoing remarks were written, a casualty, precisely similar to that which has been stated to have occasioned the death of Lady Elizabeth Russell, has happened in the person of a member of the Queen's household. One of Her Majesty's housemaids, Elizabeth Reynolds, according to the accounts published in the newspapers and in the Court Circular,¹ pricked her finger with a needle on the 2nd of April 1891. Grave symptoms, due to blood-poisoning, followed this apparently trifling accident, and, in spite of the best nursing and most able surgical attention, death resulted on the sixth day succeeding that on which the injury occurred. This untoward event sufficiently proves that Wiseman did not act so inconsiderately in using the story of Lady Elizabeth Russell's pricked finger for a serious argument as Dean Stanley supposed, and it shows also that Goldsmith in his "Citizen of the World" jumped rather hastily to the conclusion that the Verger at Westminster Abbey was telling a lie "when he talked of a lady who died by pricking her finger."

without once blushing, told a hundred lies ; he talked of a lady who died by pricking her finger, of a king with a golden head, and twenty such pieces of absurdity ;" but as the satirist classes the Coronation Chair—"an old oak chair"—and other objects of similar historical interest, among the pieces of absurdity, it seems evident that his remark on the point in question was made without any serious design or particular knowledge of the circumstances of Lady Elizabeth Russell's illness or death. (See "Letters from a Citizen of the World," by Oliver Goldsmith, Letter xiii.)

¹ See the report regarding this event in the *Times* newspaper of April the 10th, 1891, and, in the *Court Circular* about the same date, a notice of the death and funeral of the patient.

APPENDIX XXII.

SURPRISE AND CAPTURE OF THE FORTS AND TOWN OF
WEYMOUTH, AND SIEGE OF MELCOMBE REGIS.

Very little seems to be generally known, even at the place itself, about this brief but very stirring episode of the Civil War, to which Wiseman makes several allusions in his treatises,¹ yet without this knowledge Wiseman's references to it can hardly be understood. The incidents of the attack and defence of Weymouth and Melcombe excited very considerable interest at the time the events occurred, owing particularly to the varying fortunes which attended the troops engaged in the struggle. There exists among the King's Pamphlets in the Library of the British Museum an extremely rare tract of eight small quarto pages, in which an account of the circumstances of the assault and capture of Weymouth by the Royalists, and its subsequent recovery by the Parliamentarians, has been published by an eye-witness.² The description given in this pamphlet explains the brief allusions to the event made by Wiseman, and it is chiefly from this narration that I have derived the following particulars.

At the time—February, 1644-5—the occurrences alluded to above took place, Portland was held by a small Royalist

¹ See pages 46 and 128. Wiseman sometimes calls the siege of Melcombe, as in p. 128, the "siege of Weymouth."

² "A Brief Relation of the Surprise of the Forts of Weymouth, the Siege of Melcombe, the Recovery of the Forts, and Raising of the Siege. By P. I., Minister to the Garrison. Lond.: Printed for Luke Fawne, at the Parrot in Paul's Church Yard, 1644, March 20th." King's Pamphlets, vol. 198, No. 7. (The initial letters are understood to stand for Peter Ince. In the copy in the Brit. Mus. Library the name *Funse* is written on the title-page.)

garrison under Sir Walter Hastings, while Sir Lewis Dyve or Dyves was in command of other Royalist troops in Dorset. Weymouth and Melcombe were occupied by Parliamentary troops, Colonel William Sydenham being the governor and commandant. The Parliamentarians had occupied Weymouth and Melcombe since June 1644, when they were taken from the Royalists by a force under the command of the Earl of Essex.¹

The Parliamentary troops during the time they had been in Weymouth had fortified it very thoroughly. It now possessed two strong forts, one in the direction of Portland, and the other, the Chappel Fort,² placed on a height commanding the town and port. Very little had been done round Melcombe as regards general defensive works, the forts and garrison of Weymouth being regarded as a sufficient protection against its capture, but at the entrance to the harbour on the Melcombe side was a battery at the end of a stone pier, while on the east of the town there was the square Blockhouse Fort, and to the north another, the Cotton Fort. The two towns of Weymouth and Melcombe had been incorporated into one municipal body in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and were connected by a drawbridge which allowed vessels and small craft to pass up the estuary.

Such was the state of things when suddenly, on Sunday the 9th of February 1644-5, at midnight, while the Parliamentary troops were reposing under a sense of complete security, some Royalist troops under Sir Lewis Dyve, with

¹ See Clarendon's History, Bk. viii.

² The Chapel Fort was so called from being erected on the site of a chapel or church originally dedicated to St. Nicholas. It stood on a high hill at the south of the town, which it overlooked, as well as the arm of the sea forming the port. It is described as having been approached by an ascent of seventy steps. Owing to its commanding position, the Parliamentarians converted the chapel and the surrounding hill into a sort of citadel or principal fort of Weymouth and Melcombe. Several other forts existed, one at the entrance to the port on the Melcombe side, a square stone fort on the east side of Melcombe, and a fort on the north side of Weymouth known as the Cotton Fort. (See the "History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset," by John Hutchins, M.A., 3rd edit., Westminster, 1863, vol. ii.)

a portion of the garrison from Portland, managed to reach the Weymouth forts without being noticed, and, before any alarm could be sounded, had disarmed the sentries and gained entrance into the works. During the resistance which followed many men were wounded, and among the killed was Major Sydenham, a brother of the governor. Some of the Parliamentary soldiers were made prisoners, but the greater number escaped into the town, and moved the same night into Melcombe. They accomplished their retreat without opposition from the Royalists, who were either engaged in securing their possession of the forts, or did not consider interference necessary, from regarding Melcombe as incapable of resisting an attack, should the need afterwards occur of making one.

Colonel Sydenham, the governor, however, who was evidently an officer of remarkable energy and very determined to try and retrieve the discrediting capture by surprise of the Chapel Fort, having caused the drawbridge to be raised, at once set to work to place Melcombe in a state of defence, and in a few days had surrounded it with earthworks sufficient to enable it to resist an attack. The Weymouth forts fired upon the town in order to drive the Parliamentarians out of it, but the shot appear to have done only a small amount of damage. On the fifth day after the Sunday on which the forts were surprised, the Royalists fired red-hot slugs into Melcombe, and succeeded in setting fire to the thatched roof of a house. The fire spread and consumed two other houses. Some of the Parliamentary troops, in retaliation, contrived to get into the town of Weymouth and to set several houses on fire there, and then the Royalists gave up the use of such projectiles.

While this contest was in progress the Parliamentary force in Melcombe had gained several accessions to its strength. Eighty men arrived one day in a vessel from Poole, and shortly afterwards the Admiral's ship with another of the Parliamentary ships anchored in the roadstead and landed a reinforcement of two hundred men, while a detachment of a

hundred cavalry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Haynes, came by land. The Royalists in Weymouth were also joined by additional troops. Lord Goring arrived from Salisbury with a large body of men, including cavalry and infantry, and leaving his main body of troops at Dorchester, left a detachment to add to the force at Weymouth.

A few days after the arrival of the new troops at Weymouth, as a small party of the mounted men were escorting a convoy of provisions to the town, they were attacked by the Parliamentary troops in force, and after a short fight were compelled to retire. On this taking place, a considerable body of infantry was marched out of Weymouth to assist the retreating cavalry and to regain the stores. While this affair was in progress, the governor at Melcombe, hearing of the movement of the Royalist infantry, thought a good opportunity was afforded him of trying to recover the Chapel Fort, which dominated the town of Weymouth. Hastily crossing the drawbridge with a body of troops, he made a sally upon the outworks of the Chapel Fort before the Royalists discovered his approach. A panic ensued among the few men left in the fort, and after a few shots had been fired, they, probably in ignorance of the number of troops opposed to them, yielded, and cried for quarter. The assault was quite successful. The Parliamentary soldiers regained complete possession of the fort, and at the same time made several officers and about a hundred men prisoners. This occurred on Tuesday, the 25th of February—the sixteenth day after the fort had been taken by the Royalists. The very unexpected nature of this attack and the astonishment caused by it are sufficiently apparent from its effects on Wiseman, who at the time was attending to some wounded men in a house just below the work. The loss of the Chapel Fort, taken in the same way as they themselves had gained possession of it, by a surprise, was a great blow to the Royalists. It was the first step which led to their having to abandon the place altogether.

On the news of the loss of the fort being conveyed to

Lord Goring at Dorchester, he determined to carry out a night attack against the Parliamentarians in Melcombe with the whole force under his command. An assault was to be made upon several points at the same time. He took the greatest precautions against any intelligence of the contemplated attack being communicated to the Parliamentary commander, but, in spite of all his care, Colonel Sydenham got news of it by means of a prisoner who managed to escape from the Royalists after getting knowledge of the intended movement. This person arrived at Melcombe on Wednesday, the day preceding that of the march of the Royalist troops from Dorchester, so that the governor had sufficient time to make arrangements for resisting it. The night happened to be light and clear, and between one and two o'clock in the morning of Friday, Lord Goring's troops were perceived to be approaching. The chief assault was against the works on the west side of the town, and, as a feint, the Parliamentarians retired from them without making much resistance. The Royalists thought they had an easy victory before them, but after a short time they discovered their error. They found barricades erected and guns so disposed as to impede their progress, while so many of their men were falling wounded, that, after about two hours' fighting, they felt compelled to abandon the attempt to take the town. They retreated to Wyke Regis, where they remained a short time to succour the wounded, and then retired altogether, Lord Goring moving toward Taunton in Somersetshire.

Thus within a period of about eighteen days, in which there was much severe fighting, Weymouth was taken by surprise and again lost by a surprise. At the same time, through the activity of Colonel Sydenham, the siege carried on against Melcombe by the Royalists while Weymouth was in their possession ended in failure. Weymouth and Melcombe remained in the hands of the Parliamentarians from the date of these events to the end of the Civil War.

There are some entries in the curt newspapers of the day which sufficiently show how public feeling was stirred by the

occurrences just narrated. In the Royalist *Mercurius Aulicus*, under date of Tuesday, March the 4th, 1644, p. 1398, appears the following:—"This day we received worse newes from Weymouth, which Towne we heare is as unluckily lost as t'was happily obtained, the circumstance and manner is not yet certified;" while in the Parliamentary newspaper, "*The Kingdome's Weekly Intelligencer*, from Tuesday, the 11th of March, to Tuesday, the 18th of March, 1644," there is the following announcement:—"Intelligence from Col. Sydenham, Gov^r of Melcombe, that he has beaten Goring from his works, killed many of his men on the place, took divers prisoners, and all their implements and tools, and successfully regained the town and works." By an ordinance of Parliament, dated March the 5th, £2000 were ordered to be paid to the officers, soldiers, and seamen of Weymouth and Melcombe for their services in the defence of the works protecting the united towns.

THE END.

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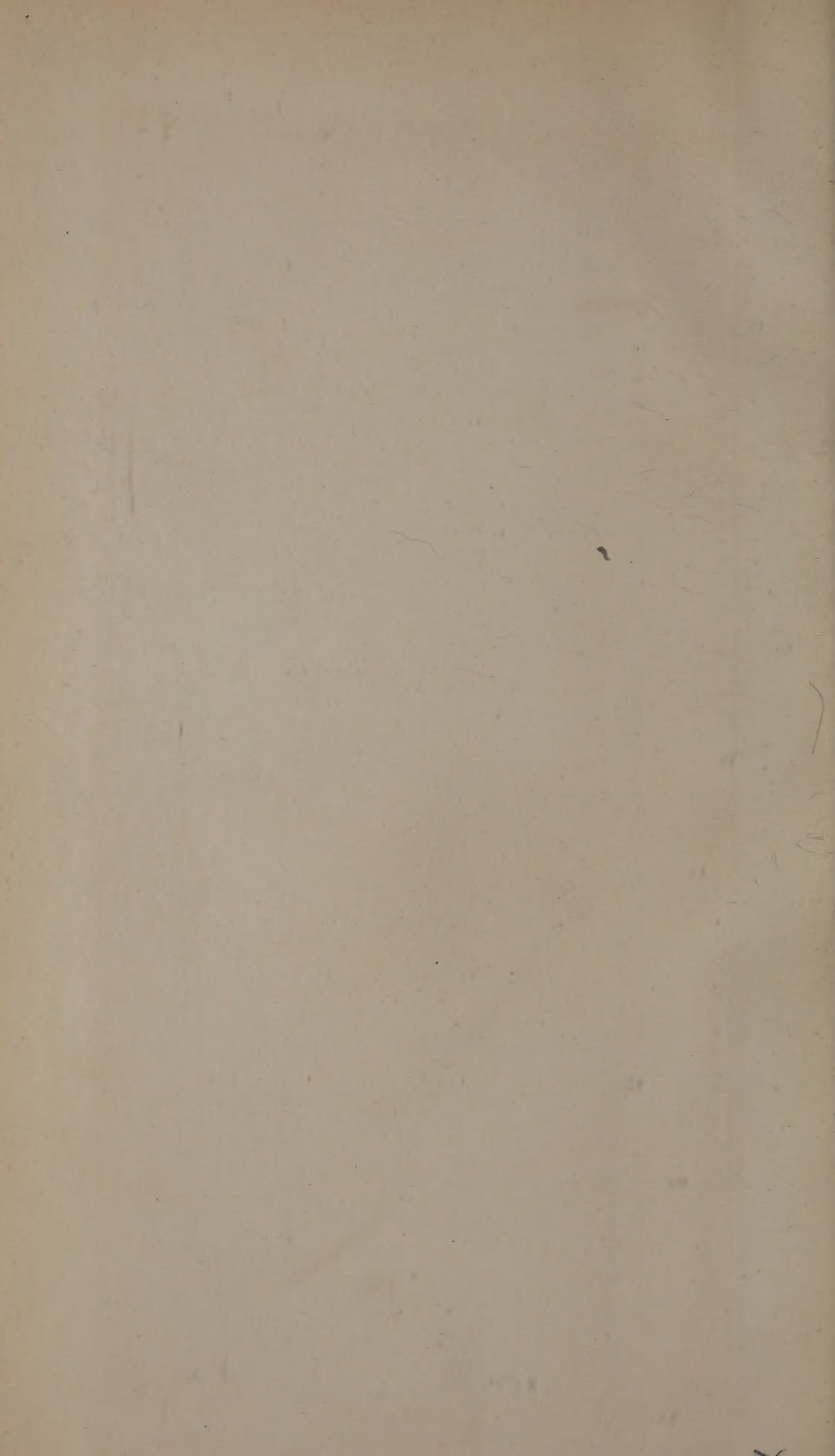
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